

Monday November 25 1996

Albania L 2.50	Greenland D 4.00	Norway NK 10
Andorra FF 10	Hong Kong HK\$ 25	Oman OR 1.00
Austria S 13.50	Hungary F 20	Pakistan PK 10
Bahrain BD 0.85	Iceland IK 18	Pakistan Z 2.50
Belgium BF 35	India IN 15	Portugal P 200
Bulgaria LV 180	Indonesia ID 1,000	Romania R 2,000
Canada C\$ 1.50	Iran IR 1,000	Russia RS 25
Czechia CZ 1.00	Jordan JO 1.25	Saudi Arabia SA 1,000
Czech Republic KCS	Korea KR 150	Slovenia SL 250
Denmark DK 15	Kuwait KD 0.50	Slovakia SK 17
Egypt E 10	Laos LA 1,000	Slovenia S 17
Finland FM 12	Lebanon LB 1,000	Slovenia S 17
France F 10	Libya LY 1,000	Slovenia S 17
Germany DM 1.50	Lithuania LT 1,000	Slovenia S 17
	Malaysia M 1.50	Slovenia S 17
	Maldives M 1.50	Slovenia S 17
	Mexico M 1.50	Slovenia S 17
	Moldova M 1.50	Slovenia S 17
	Morocco M 1.50	Slovenia S 17
	Netherlands G 4.00	Slovenia S 17

The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR


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Young, gifted, and accused of murdering their baby

Tragedy of the teenage killers


G2 pages 7/9



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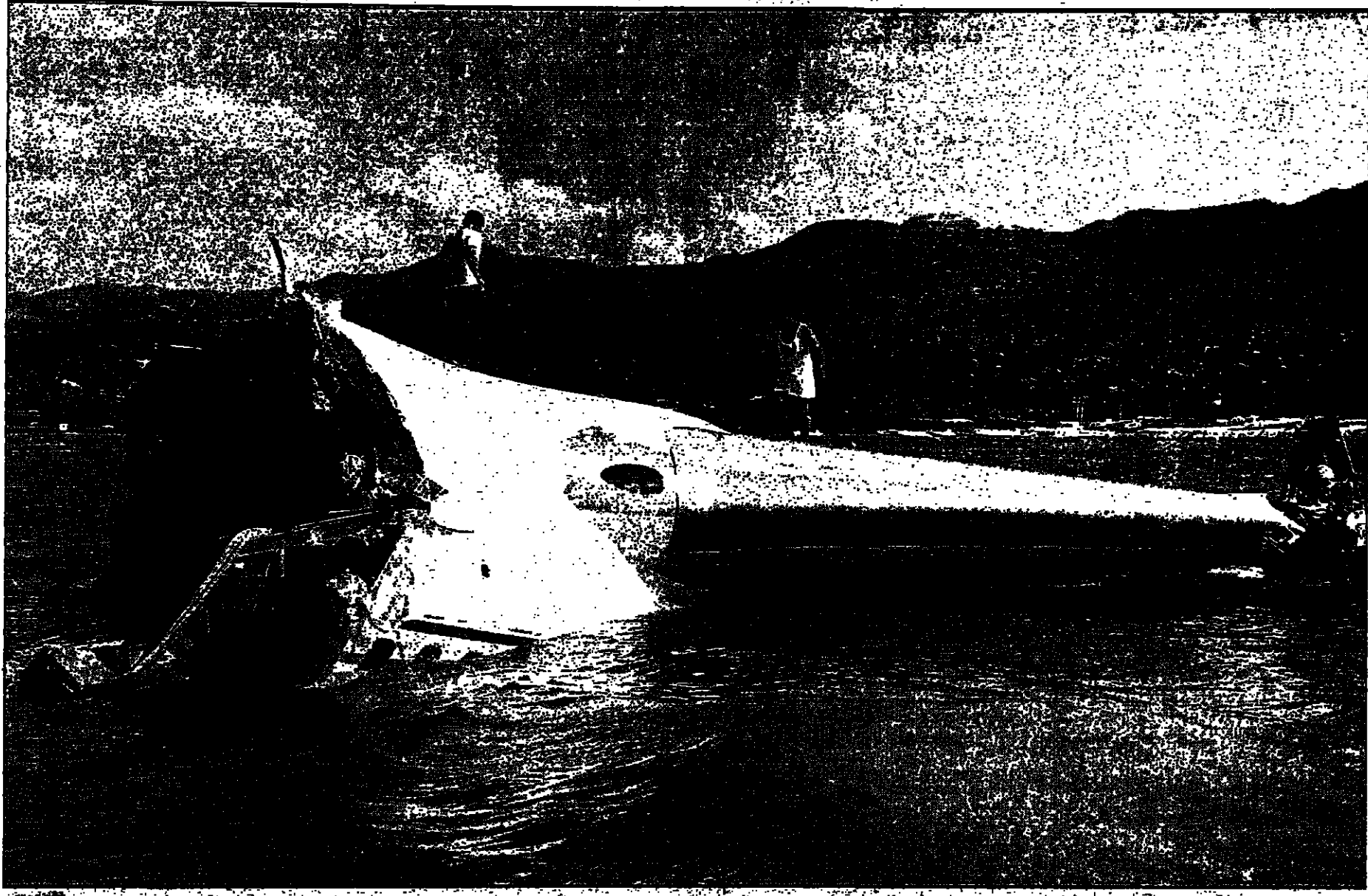
Pages Arsenal



Media

Recognition for journalists who work in extreme danger

G2 pages 7/9



Wreckage from the hijacked Ethiopian airliner which crashed and broke up in the Comoros Islands yesterday, killing up to 123 people. PHOTOGRAPH: JUDIA NGWENYA

Major caves in to Euro rebels

Even MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

JOHAN MAJOR dramatically caved in to Tory rebels yesterday to avoid the row over a single European currency overshadowing tomorrow's Budget.

After days of insisting that it would stand firm, the Government offered a series of concessions to the rebels, including a Commons statement on a single European currency this afternoon by Kenneth Clarke — an unprecedented step for a Chancellor on the eve of the Budget.

Given his well-known support for a single currency, Mr Clarke could face a mauling by Tory Euro-sceptics.

The Shadow Chancellor, Gordon Brown, immediately seized on the Treasury statement, saying: "The Government's position seems to be changing from hour to hour. It is clear there is chaos and confusion at the heart of a government which is a direct result of weak leadership."

Mr Major, faced with the worst internal party crisis over Europe since the Maastricht treaty debates, ordered ministers on Friday to seek ways to placate the rebels.

The Government believes that the Budget is a potential vote-winner, and fears that its impact would be lost by the end of the week if the European row is allowed to fester.

Last night ministers were hearing blame for misjudging the scale of the revolt on the Chief Whip, Alastair Goodlad.

The rebels' response to the concessions was mixed, with some senior Tories welcoming them. But others were insisting they would fight on.

The rebels had been demanding a full Commons debate before a meeting of the European finance ministers next Monday to discuss a single currency.

The Government insisted last night that there was not enough time left this week for such a debate. Instead, it will offer to extend a debate on Europe planned for later next month from one day to two.

Government business managers will meet today to discuss tactics. If they judge the concessions have failed to quell the revolt, they have the option of dropping a debate on tourism on Friday to allow one on the single currency.

The President of the Board of Trade, Ian Lang, said yesterday: "Anything is possible. It is understandable that colleagues do want to be kept fully informed and indeed the Government wants to keep them fully informed."

Significantly, Mr Lang — who is close to Mr Major — was turned to page 2, column 7

'They didn't give a damn...'

Survivors of hijacked jet crash tell of ordeal. Ruaridh Nicoll and Alice Martin report

ALARGE lump had emerged on Hiwot Tadesse's temple, but from her eyes anger and shock burned out. "The plane bumped and then went to pieces," she said. "The next thing I knew is that I'm half way into the water. I cried for help."

Lying in the next bed, Yeshimebet Gepraemestrakel, Ms Tadesse's fellow air hostess, lay back, showing arms scarlet with bruises. "I was underwater," she said. "I think Hiwot pulled me out, but I don't know."

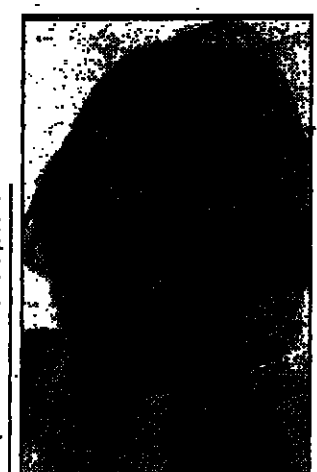
The survivors of the Ethiopian Airlines ET961 crash in the Comoros Islands looked dazed from their journey under three deranged hijackers. They were speaking from their hospital beds in Moroni, the Comoros capital.

It was a trip that had begun early on Saturday in Addis Ababa and ended when the plane ran out of fuel and dove into the Indian Ocean at 3,200m local time. The wreckage now lies 500 metres off a headland.

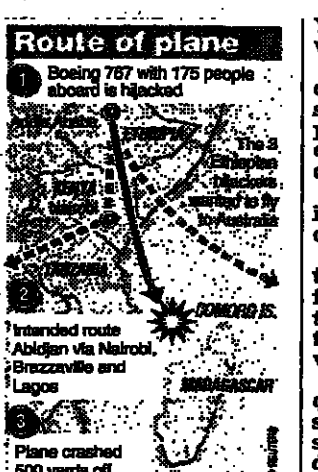
The airliner had 175 people on board: 52 survived and 67 bodies have been retrieved. The rest are presumed dead, many of them trapped in the fuselage.

Two British women, Katherine Hayes and Elizabeth Anders, emerged with only slight injuries. Ms Hayes, aged 30, fixed details of her escape to relatives. "I was able to undo my seat belt and swam up to the surface," she told them.

Six other Britons aboard are feared dead. They include Tony Charters, a British aid worker in Ethio-



Elizabeth Anders... escaped with only slight injuries



Yomas Mekuria, aged 35, who had been badly beaten. The hijackers were intent on reaching Australia despite the pilot's desperate pleas that he only had enough fuel for a routine one-and-a-half hour flight.

"I guess they understood it, but they didn't give a damn," Mr Mekuria said.

About 20 minutes after the plane had lifted off from the Ethiopian capital the three men — all in their twenties according to survivors — stood up.

"I thought they were quarrelling, we stopped serving and they told us to sit down; they said if we didn't they would blow the plane up," said Ms Tadesse.

According to one survivor, the hijackers said they were opposition activists who had escaped from jail.

Survivors said one of the hijackers seemed to be carrying explosives. "There was something black in his hands," said Nagin Surti, aged 55, from Bombay. Two stayed at the front of the Boeing 767, while the third watched the main cabin.

Ms Tadesse said: "They removed the co-pilot. Three times they sat in his seat and moved the plane while the pilot struggled to steady it."

After four hours, the pilot realised there was no choice but to put down. The plane was over the Comoros, north of Madagascar. He told the passengers one engine had stopped and they were about to crash land.

"There were women, children praying," said Surti. "I knew this was the end of my life."

Caroline Fotherby, a manager at the hotel Le Galawa, said: "All you could hear was the sound of an aeroplane falling. And then there was a bang. The plane hit once, then hit again and nosedived, burning eventually on its side."

The plane landed 500 metres off the beach. Novice divers were in the water when it went down.

"Some people on the surface were already dead," said Ms Fotherby. "Most people drowned, one was decapitated."

Carrot and stick plan to stifle dissent among Labour MPs

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

DISSIDENT Labour MPs will be publicly reprimanded, according to a document on party discipline obtained by the Guardian. But the review also promises wide-ranging consultation with backbench MPs on legislation and policy if a Labour government comes to power.

The 12-page document proposing changes to the standing orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party was sent to MPs over the weekend and will be debated by the PLP on December 4.

A key change is to tighten the rules of conduct for MPs by bringing in a new category of offence. MPs will be told "to do nothing which brings the party into disrepute".

Transgressions will be reported to the member's constituency party.

The review team, which includes John Prescott, the deputy leader, and Donald Dewar, the chief whip, may be seen by some disgruntled Labour critics as an attempt to stifle internal debate.

But the carrot of consultation — "an absolute obligation on ministers" — is seen as a way of avoiding rows.

Labour's plan to get tough, page 4

BMA backs fluoride despite payout

Stuart MILLER

THE row over the safety of fluoride escalated last night when the British Medical Association insisted that a £1,000 payment by a toothpaste manufacturer to a child whose teeth appear to have been damaged by the chemical did not constitute evidence that it is harmful.

Sharon and Trevor Isaacs, of Highams Park, Essex, received the "goodwill" payment from Colgate-Palmolive after their son Kevin, aged 10, was diagnosed as suffering from dental fluorosis, where the enamel is mottled by fluoride.

The company denies liability, but campaigners against fluoride have claimed the case adds to growing evidence that it is harmful. More than 200 families are already attempting to claim damages from toothpaste manufacturers.

There is mounting public opposition to the practice of adding fluoride to water supplies, but the BMA insisted it would continue its campaign to have the Government make water companies add fluoride to their supplies to cut tooth decay among children.

It is one of 30 health organisations calling for action against water companies which refuse to extend fluoridation through fear of legal action by campaigners who say it can damage health.

Noel Olsen, public health expert of the BMA council, said: "There is an abundance of evidence that there is not a problem with fluoride. It occurs naturally, and children drinking it in their water will generally have much healthier teeth than those who don't."

The Water Services Association, an umbrella organisation for the water industry, said: "Water companies are entitled to be concerned that fluoridation... is by no means universally supported among health experts or dental or medical professionals."

Kevin Isaacs: £1,000 for teeth damaged by fluoride

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Irene's baffling rite of passage through India

The new Miss World, and patrons Julia and Eric Morley, emerged smiling, as ever, from the bruising protests and torrential rain of a less than welcoming Bangalore

Monday sketch



Suzanne Goldenberg

It's hard enough to get used to the throne and the glare on Day One of what will be the most exciting year in your young life, but Miss World 1996 had the additional travails of appearing before her first baying crowd of journalists yesterday in an obviously inexperienced sari borrowed from a hotel housekeeper. So there she stood, Irene Skliva, an 18-year-old journalism student from Athens, in a deep-purple silk with a bright pink border, the pleats bunched inexpertly and dead-centre on her stomach, and the beam hitched up behind over a pair of black patent platforms. Pity the housekeeper couldn't be persuaded to part with bangles or the ornate jewellery to make her look truly authentic. But Ms Skliva did her best

— which is how she plans to carry on for the next 12 months of opening motor shows, cuddling handicapped children, and smiling. So what does it mean to be a beauty queen of the 1990s? "I am going to work for Greece and I am going to do my best."

Happily, she will have Julia and Eric Morley, the organisers of the pageant, by her side to help her endure the long absence from home. "We are a family, we are a big world family," Mrs Morley said, dipping in for Miss World when her limited knowledge of English — or of savvy replies — let her down. "Even the hotel staff here have become part of the family. They helped us and went and got a sari."

It is a family that's grown and grown as the Morley caravan of international beauties circumnavigates the globe. After their exile from Britain, it's been Hong Kong, Sun City in South Africa, and now the less than hospitable welcome in India.

The beauty queens always become as close as real life sisters after three weeks under the beady-eyed gaze of their chaperones, and with the nightly sharing of secrets that is bound to occur when bedtime is at 9.30pm.

So you can imagine the intimacies of being confined to a hotel by weeks of noisy pro-



Smiles abound as Irene Skliva of Greece is crowned Miss World 1996 in Bangalore

PHOTOGRAPH: KAMAL KISHORE

tests against the pageant's very presence in India, and a security regime so stringent that the lone shopping outing was conducted with an escort of two busloads of policemen. Morley family life is so cosy that people pay to join; £2,000 a year for the privilege of running a beauty contest in their own country. But not every-

one can be part of Mrs Morley's happy family; certainly not the protesters whose threat to set themselves on fire in the stadium on the big night nearly ruined her show. Mrs Morley quickly said that Miss Skliva didn't want to talk about that. For herself: "I didn't enjoy that part, and I don't expect they did either."

Some people just refuse to understand that pageants are more than just well-paid women. However, with the constant effort to be charitable towards the protesters — now that hundreds of them are safely behind bars, and dozens of others have large, unbesettable, belts from police batons.

"I want to get to know them, and I want to sit down and talk to them," she said. "It wasn't quite the same at the dress rehearsal. But Mrs Morley can be forgiven a bit of pique when things go horribly wrong. A generator blew out, the lights went out. "You and I both know it's not a genuine protest," she said then. "Here you can pay someone 10 rupees and you've got a crowd. Life is very cheap and I feel very sad about that."

The Morley family is going to pitch in here too — with fashion shows first, and then by "bringing open heart surgery to children who might otherwise not enjoy it". How much of the money raised by the show — where half the seats went unsold at prices starting from £85 — was actually going to charity? "It's an interesting point. I want to know myself," Mrs Morley told journalists.

The entire Indian experience had been a bit bewildering. Hadn't Miss World proved beyond a doubt that the contestants respected Indian culture? Ms Morley wore a designer sari — kamees (long shirt and trousers) more than once. The girls — as the 68 contestants are invariably called — did not wear shorts in public, and they all wore saris at one photocall with bindis, or beauty marks, on their foreheads.

So why did people keep harping about the swimsuit competition, which was hurriedly relocated to the Seychelles because of the ferocity of the protests? "I can't remember when I've seen a designer beach wear," Mrs Morley said. "Each designer has come from their own country."

Which is a major advance on the Miss Lovely Legs Indian beauty pageants of old. The beauty queens of yesterday have been reminding in the papers about how they had to line up in front of the judges — whose eyes were at knee level — and lift up their saris. And there was the crowning glory of the show itself, graced by an array of second-tier Indian celebrities — 14 dashing-looking elephants with red and green parasols. "I can't remember when I have seen so much fashion and beauty on one stage before," the compere gushed.

Not to mention buckets of rain, but at least the well-heeled audience could shelter under their souvenir umbrellas. They also had cause to be grateful to Miss World for a Bollywood extravaganza with hundreds of extras creating on stage in the best Hindi movie fashion. It was a show-off of the best of their culture, the compere declared, and the sudden audience should realise that the pageant had put India on the map. "India and, most importantly, the city of Bangalore, have put on an event the world can marvel at," the compere said.

It's a shame, then, that this part of the pageant's countdown was left out of the live television broadcast.

Clarke's balancing act

Battle between incentives to vote Tory and keeping finances in healthy state



Kenneth Clarke filling up with petrol in Nottingham yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: DOUG MARKE

KENNETH Clarke is today polishing his Budget speech, with most experts predicting a 1p cut in the basic tax rate to 23p and boosts to health and education spending. Although the Treasury predicts the public finances will be almost £27 billion in the red this year, Mr Clarke is under pressure from backbenchers to portray the Tories as a tax-cutting party, and tomorrow's Budget is expected to deliver giveaways worth £2 billion-£3 billion. The Chancellor spent yesterday at his Rushcliffe constituency as Treasury officials worked overtime to check Budget summaries which have already been printed amid tight security. Mr Clarke knows that failure to deliver tax cuts in his fourth and possibly last Budget could be the final blow to the Conservatives' hopes of wooing disillusioned voters — and so consign him to history as the Chancellor who lost the general election. But he will not easily abandon his campaign to be

known as a prudent, canny Chancellor, so he is likely to balance giveaways with spending cuts and extra levies on petrol and tobacco. Tight targets for the Budget deficit and a desire not to upset the City with net giveaways which could overheat an already healthy economy, will, however, limit Mr

Clarke's ability to pull big surprises out of his briefcase. There will be clear winners and losers in the battle between offering incentives to vote Tory while keeping finances on a steady road out of the red. The winners are expected to be health, education, and law and order, which opinion polls have shown are

vote winners. The losers are again likely to be motorists, tenants and smokers. If tax cuts are confined to 1p off the basic rate, and the 20 per cent band is widened, Mr Clarke will have done little to help the poorest-paid. According to a report published today by economists at Cambridge university, the

Budget points

- **Highways** - £1.5 billion extra for roads
- **Health** - £1.5 billion extra for NHS
- **Education** - £1.5 billion extra for schools
- **Law and order** - £1.5 billion extra for police
- **Basic rate** - 1p cut to 23p
- **Smoking** - 10p increase in duty
- **Motorists** - 10p increase in duty
- **Tenants** - 10p increase in duty
- **Smokers** - 10p increase in duty
- **Transport** - £1.5 billion extra for roads
- **Environment** - £1.5 billion extra for nature
- **Energy** - £1.5 billion extra for power
- **Industry** - £1.5 billion extra for research
- **Science** - £1.5 billion extra for space
- **Arts** - £1.5 billion extra for culture
- **Media** - £1.5 billion extra for press
- **Telecoms** - £1.5 billion extra for internet
- **IT** - £1.5 billion extra for computers
- **Space** - £1.5 billion extra for rockets
- **Defence** - £1.5 billion extra for weapons
- **Foreign** - £1.5 billion extra for aid
- **Trade** - £1.5 billion extra for exports
- **Immigration** - £1.5 billion extra for visas
- **Asylum** - £1.5 billion extra for refugees
- **Border** - £1.5 billion extra for customs
- **Customs** - £1.5 billion extra for duties
- **Excise** - £1.5 billion extra for alcohol
- **Stamp** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Gift** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Income** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Capital** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Corporation** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
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- **Trust** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
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- **Income** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Capital** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Corporation** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Dividend** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Trust** - £1.5 billion extra for tax
- **Succession** - £1.5 billion extra for tax

richest 10 per cent would reap almost a third of the benefit of such tax cuts. The poorest third of society would get less than 3 per cent of the total relief. The report, Who Benefits from Tax Cuts, said the Chancellor should view child benefit as a tax cut: a significant increase would be the best way to help people on low pay. Cuts to the Department of Transport's budget will mean the loss of 85 road schemes, say environmental groups. The Land is Ours and Greenpeace Watch, which have passed on a leaked report from an official to the Transport Secretary, Sir George Young. "This confirms that the Government intends to use the Budget as a way of abandoning schemes which it privately admits will only increase traffic," said spokeswoman Penny Kemp. The report adds that if existing plans were to be met, the DoT would need an additional £20 million a year.

Bid to quell revolt on eve of Budget

He will dismiss European documents leaked to the Sunday papers as irrelevant. The Government had been involved in a "cover-up" by withholding from MPs vital papers on the euro single currency. The Treasury issued a statement saying Mr Clarke wanted to "correct" the article and "other misleading reports that have emerged over recent days". The statement said Mr Clarke also wanted to "reiterate" the points made in his letter to MPs last Friday, which sought to reassure them that no binding decisions affecting Britain's economy would be taken at the European finance ministers meeting on December 2 and at the Dublin summit on December 13. The row, which centres on European Union documents on preparations for the single currency, and the German-inspired "stability pact" under which members of monetary union could be fined for straying from budget controls, aroused suspicions among Tory Euro-sceptics that the Government was about to sign away huge powers to European bankers.

Blair the blushing man of integrity elbowed out by Blair the campaigning politician

Review

Anne Karpf

Desert Island Discs BBC Radio 4

IT'S PURPOSE was unmistakable. Tony Blair's appearance on Desert Island Discs, like Cherie Booth's guest editing of Prima, was meant to show an Aran-sweated, home-loving human beneath the suited public figure. But it didn't work out quite like that. For every time Blair the man was touched — on his mother's death, for example, or on first meeting Cherie — his blushes fairly pulsed across the airwaves and, as Sue Lawley noted, he lost his fluency. What was revealed

was not so much the genuineness and integrity of Blair the man as the glibness and artifice (by comparison) of Blair the politician. This Desert Island Discs was more like In The Psychiatrist's Chair crossed with Newsnight. Inevitably much of the material was already in the public domain — Mr Blair's Oxford rock group The Ugly Rumours, for instance, and his father's stroke. Mr Blair argued that his "modernisation" of the Labour Party wasn't the cool act of someone without emotional ties to the party. "I didn't sit there and say 'How do we get the Labour Party into power? Ditch everything it believes in. That's just rubbish, that's what's kept the left back for so long.' He returned several times to the difference between principles and policy.

Blair's airs

- Cancel Today, Ezio
- Clair de Lune, Debussy
- In My Life, the Beatles
- 4th of July, Ashbury Park (Sandy), Bruce Springsteen
- Adagio for Strings, Samuel Barber
- Crossroads Blues, Robert Johnson
- Wishing Well, Free
- Recuerdos de la Alhambra, Francisco Tarrega
- Book: Ivanhoe, Sir Walter Scott
- Luxury item: a classical guitar

and though he mentioned the "vision" word, there was no reference to the "socialism" one. Sue Lawley should have pressed him more on the Oratory, but was otherwise in good form, asking the questions which needed asking, like why did you tell the Labour Party conference about your father's stroke, and how do you differ from John Major? On this last, Mr Blair was less than stirring: the Labour Party had "come to terms with the fact that we live in a market economy", but a few years into a Labour government we'd find "significant and beneficial changes from how the Conservatives governed the country". In his choice of music Mr Blair confirmed that he's a child of the 70s. No sign of Britpop: though one might have expected him to have inducted him into Oasis, his musical interests seem to have stopped at Springsteen and Free. Plus a touch of the blues (Robert Johnson) and a

dash of classical music (Clair de Lune and Samuel Barber's Adagio for Strings, otherwise known as the theme from Oliver Stone's Platoon). His desert island luxury was a classical guitar to help him learn Francisco Tarrega's Recuerdos de la Alhambra. Perhaps the most striking thing about the programme was the frenzied press interest. Though Mr Blair spoke on Friday about Europe, the prints were far more interested in Desert Island Discs. A telling indictment of press treatment of politics, you might think, until you realise that for the political parties, DID is another weapon in the election propaganda war. And the media knows it. Mark Lawson on Newsnight, 22, page 2.

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Donovan's picture of rock legend Jimi Hendrix



Terence Donovan (left), icon of portrait and fashion photography, was said to be anxious about how a new exhibition of his portraits would be received



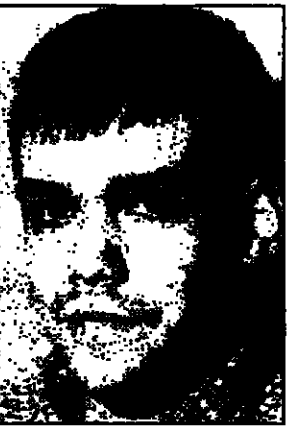
Jerry Hall, one of Donovan's best-known models

Kidnapped man freed as police storm hotel

Martyn Hales

A 21-YEAR-OLD man rescued by police with stun grenades after being snatched from his home in Liverpool at the weekend and held in a hotel in north London was last night being debriefed by detectives.

know there was something serious. When we were back in our rooms we heard the alarm... there was quite a lot of emotion going on down the drive. We heard them [police] say: 'Get your head down' but not so politely."



Craig Allee, snatched from his home in Liverpool

Donovan 'depressed before suicide'

Clare Longrigg

THE photographer, Terence Donovan, famous in the 1960s for portraits and fashion shots, was said to be nervous and depressed weeks before he killed himself at his west London studio at the weekend.

Donovan was remembered yesterday by friends in the art world as funny and idiosyncratic, a Cockney lad who took on the elitist world of magazine photography and ended up calling the time. Friends were shocked that a man who was a tower of strength for others had succumbed to depression.

never had-mouthed anyone. To have got that far and made that much money, you'd have thought he'd have made a few enemies."

Flowers ascribes his success to his working class roots. "Donovan's cultural inheritance from his Cockney background gave him two things: respect for nobles, and disrespect for everything he disagreed with - which often included the nobles."

Flowers ascribes his success to his working class roots. "Donovan's cultural inheritance from his Cockney background gave him two things: respect for nobles, and disrespect for everything he disagreed with - which often included the nobles."

Rivals eye last ITV minnows after Carlton snatches Westcountry

Chris Burrie Business Correspondent

THREE media moguls are poised to take control of all but one of the large ITV broadcasting franchises following Carlton Communications' acquisition of Westcountry Television for \$25 million.

TV's big players



Following Westcountry's acquisition, Scottish TV is the only sizeable independent left. The media empires led by Lord Hollick, Michael Green and Gerry Robinson would control the bulk of terrestrial television in the independent sector.

The theories were all there: Channel 4 had capitulated to Home Office pressure, they had balked at a sketch differentiating between good and bad Aids, and that Michael Grade had taken the programme off air because he was worried about the bad light it would cast on his forthcoming campaign against privatisation.

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4 BRITAIN

New rules to keep backbenchers in line

Carrot and stick waved at Labour dissenters

Ewan MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

A LABOUR review team has opted for a carrot-and-stick approach to discipline, according to a document obtained by the Guardian.

The team, which includes the deputy leader, John Prescott, and the chief whip, Donald Dewar, proposes tough new powers against dissenting MPs once Labour is in government.

The aim is to avoid the internal wrangling which dominated the party in government during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as more recent sniping by Labour MPs against Tony Blair. Some dissenters may view it as an attempt to stifle internal debate.

PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY
STANDING ORDERS
DECEMBER 1996
NEW DRAFT

The 13-page document proposing changes to the standing orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party was sent out to MPs over the weekend and will be debated by the PLP on December 4.

A key change is to tighten the rules of conduct for MPs by bringing in a new category of offence. MPs will be told "to do nothing which brings the party into disrepute".

More surprising is the leadership's offer of extensive consultation in power. The rules state that ministers in a Labour government will consult committees of Labour backbenchers on policy.

They say: "Good consultation requires that the Government inform backbenchers adequately of work in hand and that the Government knows and takes into account the views of backbenchers when making key policy decisions."

They add: "In the case of legislation, there should be an absolute obligation on ministers to consult the relevant

departmental committee as early as possible."

The review group argues that dissenters will have less cause for complaint if they are brought into the process. Remote government is judged to have been a central failing of the Wilson and Callaghan years.

A further change is to give more places on the six Labour backbench committees to women. At least two votes must be cast for women candidates.

On discipline, the Chief Whip is to take the power to make reprimands public, instead of private, as at present. "A reprimand may be given by the Chief Whip in writing and reported to the Parliamentary Committee and to the constituency Labour Party of the member concerned," the rules state.

MPs have "to be in regular attendance at the House and to maintain a good division record; to refrain from personal attacks upon colleagues; to act in harmony with the policies of the Parliamentary Labour Party; and to do nothing which brings the party into disrepute."

The review group, which also includes Mo Mowlam, Doug Hoyle, Bridget Prentice, Andrew Bennett and John Garrett, first met in January to look at the operation of the PLP after the next general election, and have met 10 times since.

Their work was carried out against a background of high-profile incidents, such as criticism of Mr Blair by the Labour MP Paul Flynn, who spoke of "hypocrisy and opportunism" in watering down policy, and by an anonymous MP writing in *Tribune* under the byline Cassandra.

The rules are also intended to try to cut down on the number of maverick actions that tied up legislation such as devolution in the 1970s.

In a preface to the report, PLP Review Committee: Preparing for Government, the group says: "The guiding principles have been to re-emphasise the importance of backbench colleagues having clear and explicit rights of consultation with ministers."



Clare Short, who saw two Tony Blairs; Paul Flynn (left), who lamented 'hypocrisy'; and 'squashed hedgehog' Anstin Mitchell

Blair's awkward squad: Recent months have seen several searing attacks on the leader from the heart of his party

SINCE the summer, Tony Blair has had several loose cannons in his ranks:

July — Andrew MacKinlay. The MP for Thurrock got pledges from 100 MPs to prevent Blair abandoning plans to cancel the year's shadow cabinet elections. "Backbenchers are determined to guard jealously what is now one of the few ways we have of shaping the party."

August — Clare Short. The shadow cabinet minister publicly attacked "people in the dark" for jeopardising Labour's chances of election victory. She said: "Blair came along as a fresh and decent man and some people are trying to turn him into macho man."

She described Blair as two people — one an authentic, likeable figure, the other a Frankenstein creation. "Tony and I had a get-together. I had

a talk with the nice Tony Blair. I really like that one." Of the other Tony Blair, she said: "I think he comes out in the dark."

In July, after her demotion from the transport portfolio to overseas development, she had only recently faced up to the "full nastiness" in politics, and criticised its "vanity and ego, manoeuvres and dishonesty."

August — Paul Flynn. The leftwing backbencher accused Blair of abandoning too many policies — of "forgetting Labour's greatest achievements" and "throwing the treasure chest overboard in a bid for votes."

"Labour must dump some of the baggage that has kept it out of office but so much is disappearing there is a danger we may arrive in port with an empty vessel," the MP for Newport West said.

In July, he wrote to Mr Blair attacking the "hypocrisy and opportunism" of "new Labour" and compared the party's shift to the right as "a cancer gnawing at the body of the party."

August — Anstin Mitchell. The anti-European backbencher compared Blair's leadership style with that of North Korea's Kim Il Sung, in a *New Statesman* article.

While he praised his leader as being "in better tune with the new Britain than we are," he said his approach to policy-making was akin to the former communist dictator.

Mitchell described himself as "a squashed hedgehog on the road to the manifesto" and said that modern political parties only "paid lip-service to member power."

"In reality, members, trade unions, branches, councillors and the rest are bit-part

players in Tony's power game."

November — "Cassandra". A senior Labour MP wrote a caustic item in *Tribune*, predicting Blair would survive only months as prime minister before MPs started trying to ditch him. The writer claimed Blair was out of touch with his shadow cabinet and the rest of the parliamentary party.

"I have never known Labour MPs to be so bitterly and personally critical of their leader," the writer said, and forecast several crises within months of the election.

The party would then be plunged into "civil war" with "major fissures" opening over issues such as Europe, the minimum wage, devolution and trade union rights.

The writer also said that Robin Cook was a strong contender to replace Blair.

Utilities draw unions into fight against windfall tax

Sources: Mike and Richard Thomas

THE privatised utilities have drawn several of Labour's biggest union allies into their campaign against the party's planned windfall tax on excess profits, after seeing their direct lobbying efforts rebuffed.

Senior union officials have approached the party's deputy leader, John Prescott, to press for consultation on the impact of the £5-10 billion levy, after threats from utility executives that the tax could trigger sweeping job cuts.

Among unions to have raised concerns about the tax's potential effects on jobs and investment are the public services union Unison, the GMB general union and the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union. Tony Young, joint general secretary of the Communication Workers' Union, has argued that British Telecom should be excluded from the tax.

But Labour leaders said yesterday that union officials were being "hoodwinked" about the tax's effects and warned the utilities that they were "playing a dangerous game" by trying to recruit unions to an unholy alliance against it. There would be "no special favours or deals".

A senior Labour source close to Tony Blair said: "There is a black propaganda operation going on, and the unions are being touched by it." He singled out Eastern Group, United Utilities and Anglian Water as central to the disinformation campaign.

Labour insists that the utilities have plenty of cash to meet a one-off levy and that the stock market has already taken the tax into account in putting a value on shares.

Union leaders have been caught between support in principle for a package that shifts resources from the "fat cat" utilities to a programme to tackle youth and long-term unemployment and their fears that the companies will use the tax as a smokescreen for more mass redundancies.

Since union concerns were aired at the Labour confer-

ence last month, Unison and the GMB in particular have emphasised their backing for the principle of the tax while pressing for talks with Mr Brown on how jobs and investment can be protected.

Mike Jerram, Unison's senior utilities official, said yesterday: "We've had more than 75,000 job losses in gas and electricity since 1990. We want the small print of the legislation to make sure that it hits the right people, not the consumers and staff."

A CWU spokesman said that while the union was not opposed to the tax's aims, it feared it could take into account the fact that BT was already highly regulated and had paid £6 billion corporation tax since privatisation.

Even those unionists who accept that there is no economic case against the tax fear it could provide boards with a permanent excuse.

'Unions are being hoodwinked into unholy alliance against the tax'

One adviser said: "Whatever happens — water leaks, redundancies or diluted pension fund payments — the companies will blame the windfall tax."

A source close to Mr Prescott said: "There is clearly a degree of concern — especially given the fact that these firms have already sacked 200,000 people. But the fact is that unions are being totally misled by the companies."

Although Mr Prescott has been used as a conduit for union concerns, party officials denied any rift between him and Mr Brown on the issue. Mr Prescott is more concerned with the way the tax is spent, favouring regionally based disbursement.

In an effort to win over the utilities and their unions, Mr Prescott has suggested that some of the money be channelled into "training centres of excellence" run by the privatised firms themselves.

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News in brief

Tunnel 'could stay closed four months'

THE operators of the Channel Tunnel yesterday refused to confirm or deny reports that the tunnel could remain closed to passengers for up to four months, as ferry companies geared up for one of their busiest periods since the tunnel opened two years ago.

Eurotunnel said last night: "We cannot say when the tunnel will reopen but we are in discussion with the safety authority and we will be putting a proposal to them as soon as our investigations are complete."

Ferry companies have increased daily crossings from Dover to Calais by 50 per cent to cope with the extra passengers. Structural engineers spent the weekend examining the concrete fabric of the tunnel to assess the damage caused by the fire, which raged for more than eight hours last Monday reaching temperatures of 1,000C. — Kate Watson-Smyth

Britain faces court defeat

THE European Court of Human Rights is likely to overrule Britain's film censors today, as the Government challenges the Strasbourg judges over interference in national culture.

The judges' verdict involves *Vision of Ecstasy*, an 18-minute video directed by Nigel Wingrove, about St Teresa's erotic fantasies of Christ on the cross. It was considered criminally blasphemous and banned by the British Board of Film Classification. But the final verdict rests with the European Court of Human Rights which will declare whether the ban breaches Mr Wingrove's freedom of expression.

The decision comes a few hours before the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, is due to meet senior human rights judges and officials at the court in Strasbourg to press home the Government's disquiet over a spate of recent verdicts which have triggered a political backlash because of their domestic impact.

Police hunt teenager's killer

DETECTIVES are investigating the murder of a teenage girl attacked as she took a short cut home after enjoying a Saturday night out with friends.

The semi-naked body of Beth Robinson, aged 17, was found by two passers-by early yesterday on a footpath in Monmouth, south Wales. She had severe facial injuries. Ms Robinson, a store assistant, was last seen alive at 11.20pm as she walked across the Mornow Bridge in the market town.

30 stricken by meat bug

CONSUMERS anxious about a food poisoning outbreak linked to the Scottish Butcher of the Year were phoning a helpline yesterday as 20 people, including three children, remained in hospital.

Four elderly patients were giving doctors "cause for concern" after the outbreak in Wislaw, Lanarkshire, which has affected more than 30 people. However, a seven-year-old child who had been seriously ill was improving.

Public health experts have blamed the outbreak on the bacterium *E. coli* 0157 which they linked to cold and cooked meats prepared by the family butcher John Barr & Son in Wislaw. The company — which this year was awarded the title Scottish Butcher of the Year — has been told to stop selling the products.

Award for DNA scientist

THE British scientist who pioneered the development of genetic fingerprinting was awarded the 1996 Albert Einstein world award of science at Oxford University yesterday.

Sir Alec Jeffreys, professor of genetics at Leicester university, received the award from the World Cultural Council for his research on the DNA fingerprinting technique which has been adopted by police forces throughout the world.

One ticket wins jackpot

ONE ticket scooped Saturday's £11.7 million National Lottery jackpot. The numbers were 16, 33, 34, 43, 46, 49, bonus ball 47.

Minister refuses compromises and demands 'genuine' ceasefire before place is offered at Stormont

Talks door ajar for Sinn Fein

David Sharrock
Ireland Correspondent

THE Government yesterday left open the door to Sinn Fein's entry into talks if a "genuine and unequivocal" IRA ceasefire is declared.

Senior republicans at a Sinn Fein special conference in the Irish Republic this weekend heard Martin McGuinness say that he would move heaven and earth to get a renewed ceasefire if John Major was prepared to declare that he would not treat it like the last one.

The leader of the Social and Democratic Labour Party, John Hume, said a new ceasefire was "very possible" if the

Government responded positively to proposals drawn up by him and Gerry Adams, which include the direct admission of Sinn Fein into talks and a time-frame of six months in which these would take place.

Sinn Fein also wants confidence-building measures, such as the release of prisoners and a guarantee that the decommissioning of weaponry will not be a block on progress in the talks.

But the Northern Ireland minister Michael Ancram told BBC Radio yesterday that he was "not in the business of seeking any compromise to achieve a ceasefire... of changing policy in order to achieve a ceasefire which ought never to have been ended in the first place".

He avoided comment on demands for Sinn Fein's direct entry into the Stormont talks by sticking to a formula of words which leaves the initiative in the IRA's hands.

"The ball is very firmly in their court but this time, if there is a ceasefire which is going to bring Sinn Fein into the talks, then we have to know that that ceasefire is genuine and unequivocal."

"It has to be consistent both in word and deed to achieve the degree of confidence... that this time it's for real and this time it's for good, which wasn't last time it was not."

Pressed on how long it would take for the IRA to establish its bona fides, Mr Ancram said: "If there are actions which are inconsistent with the declaration of a

ceasefire obviously they have to be taken into account."

That means that the Government's own shopping list of demands includes an immediate halt to IRA activities such as punishment beatings, robberies, "dummy run" attacks and the targeting of security and political personnel.

In recent weeks the RUC has amassed significant intelligence, including computer disks outlining IRA targets.

The war of words continued with a counter statement from the Sinn Fein chairman, Mitchell McLaughlin, that the Government could not absolve itself of the "primary responsibility" of restoring the peace process. "John Major holds the key to peace in Ireland and he knows exactly

how that can be achieved."

Although the chances of seeing another IRA ceasefire before Christmas are slim, it is just possible that Mr Major might yet perfect a strategy to halt a renewed bombing campaign.

If George Mitchell is promoted by President Clinton this week, his departure as talks chairman would provide the excuse to adjourn negotiations while a suitable replacement is found.

During that period — which could run well into next year — Sinn Fein could gain instant admission to the talks and hold bilateral discussions on exactly the same terms as the other parties.

But there are other hurdles looming. Sinn Fein's insis-

tence on decommissioning not becoming a barrier to progress points to an interpretation of Mr Mitchell's talks principles which the Government and other parties do not go along with.

Mr Mitchell's compromise solution was that decommissioning should take place during the talks, rather than before as the Government and Unionists want, or after, as Sinn Fein wants. It now appears that Sinn Fein intends to interpret Mr Mitchell's plan as discussing the process of decommissioning during the talks.

The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, who is anxious to press ahead with the talks without Sinn Fein, said yesterday that a new IRA ceasefire was unlikely.



A Red Cross worker does the rounds offering food and drink to French lorry drivers blocking a road outside Bordeaux. PHOTOGRAPH: REGIS DUMHAGU

The trucker

Name: Mark Baldwyn
Age: 32
Registration number: G401WA
Monthly earnings: £1,300 gross
Tattoo: "Chelsea FC" on left arm
Number of years driving: eight
Favourite song: God Save The Queen by the Sex Pistols
Favourite snack: Benson and Hedges, Snaxpot
Favourite dish: Roast beef and Yorkshire pudding

Le routier

Name: Philippe Rageot
Age: 30
Registration number: 4591VC56
Monthly earnings: £750 net
Tattoo: no
Number of years driving: six
Favourite song: anything by Johnny Halliday
Favourite snack: gum and mints
Favourite dish: steak and chips

French 'better off and still moaning'

Alex Duval Smith on the reaction of British truckers caught in the lorry blockades

HUNDREDS of stranded British lorry drivers face a second week of uncertainty as their French counterparts yesterday pledged to maintain 100 roadblocks all over France and to seal off Paris if talks fail.

Yesterday the trapped Britons were split between sympathy for their French colleagues and anger at their own loss of income.

"We are nothing to do with their protest," Dale Williams, aged 28, from Bournemouth, Dorset, said at a roadblock outside Caen, Normandy.

The 50,000 French drivers, who began their protest last Monday, are demanding that European legislation on working hours should be respected by their employers.

Mr Williams, whose em-

ployer pays him by the trip — £100 in advance and £250 on returning to Britain with 40 tonnes of car batteries from southern Spain — had accumulated three days' delay at roadblocks.

Peter Hadrill, aged 38, stranded since Saturday, is also paid by the trip. "In this game, it's the quicker, the better," the French are better off than we are, and still they're moaning."

Other British drivers, eating a barbecue and sipping Beaujolais Nouveau handed to them by sympathetic motorists, completed roundabout south of Caen, were more sympathetic.

Michael Knight, a 52-year-old driver carrying legislation from Sheffield to Le Mans, was swapping notes with French lorry drivers. "Our working con-

ditions ought to be identical because they are agreed on a European scale. But it would appear that British employers are more respectful of the rules. "Obviously there are some who use illegal practices, but British drivers on the whole seem to be less exploited. My employer is decent and it seems I am paid better than a lot of these blokes," he said.

The roundabout and approach roads were packed with lorries parked nose to tail. Cars could get through, but only just.

The dozen Britons gathered by the barbecue had just finished a meal laid on by the strikers, and were sipping coffee provided by the fire station next door.

There was a pile of baguettes, a gift from the hypermarket. Mr Knight said: "The support from ordinary people is extraordinary. Obviously we would rather move on, but it is heartwarming to see

how well respected drivers are here."

The union organiser at the roundabout, Patrick Vancraeynest, aged 44, was delighted at the foreign solidarity. "We have nine British lorries here, two Danish, and five Spanish. The people opposed to the blockade aren't from any given country; they are the drivers who themselves are exploited because they're paid by the trip."

Though the protesters welcomed the French government's move to appoint a mediator for talks with the haulage companies, there were signs of bitterness and sadness as well.

On Saturday night, two young men died and four were injured when they tried to use their car to ram their way past a stationary lorry on the Caen road. At several of the nine roadblocks round the city fights broke out and tyres were slashed when drivers tried to leave the protest.

Humans 'still in radiation tests'

Owen Bowcott

EXPERIMENTS in which human volunteers are injected with radioactive isotopes are still being undertaken for medical research, a former government scientist said yesterday.

Arthur Morgan, who worked for nearly 40 years at the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell, revealed he had taken part in 30 such tests without pay.

While at Harwell, he was injected with barium 133 and plutonium 237 and inhaled cigarette smoke seeded with traces of radioactive iodine. Now aged 68, he insisted he had never suffered noticeable ill-effects.

Responding to claims by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament that the Government had secretly conducted experiments on humans, Dr Morgan, a radio-biologist, maintained the research had always been made public.

CND's report, *The Nuclear Guinea Pigs*, yesterday prompted Matthew Taylor, the Liberal Democrat spokesman on the environment, to call on the Government for an

explanation for the 40-year programme of experimentation which involved up to 200 people.

One briefing paper reproduced by CND included a comment in 1969 by Bart Gledhill, at the Lawrence Livermore nuclear weapons research laboratory in the United States. He observed that exposure levels were relatively small, but none the less "could produce a future cancer".

Mr Taylor said yesterday: "There are big questions about why they were prepared to carry on experiments on human beings when the US did not do so."

An earlier letter to Michael Portillo, the Defence Secretary, had never been answered, he added. It is high time MoD ministers explained what risks those volunteers were exposed to, for what purposes, and whether adequate warnings were given to them."

In a statement the MoD confirmed that experiments had taken place at Harwell, at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston and at the chemical and

biological research station at Forton Down since the 1950s.

A spokeswoman said: "There is no evidence of any MoD involvement in unethical radiation experiments on humans."

"All studies involved volunteers. They have been subject to proper medical safeguards and with the full knowledge of the persons concerned."

Dr Morgan, who retired in 1983, said: "There are still radioactive medical experiments going on at Harwell. They are approved by an ethics committee which includes members of the Nuclear Radiation Protection Board."

Residual traces of the barium 133 injected into him 30 years ago were still present. The experiment helped calculate the dosage inadvertently assimilated by workers using radium in luminous paint during the war.

The plutonium 237 had been injected to assess doses absorbed by workers in the nuclear industry. On both occasions urine and blood samples had provided information about how the body processed and disposed of radioactive material.

"In all those cases I gave my informed consent," he said.

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Clinton launches dual offensive on scandals

Martin Walker in Washington

BILL CLINTON'S administration and a close former aide launched a dual offensive yesterday against threatening new scandals, insisting that the dubious campaign contributions from Asian sources had not influenced policy, and forming a campaign to attack the credentials of the independent counsel investigating Whitewater-related scandals.

Mr Clinton's national security adviser, Anthony Lake, said the president had been far tougher on Indonesia than his predecessors. "Look at the record. We signed up on arms sales to Indonesia and we voted for human rights inquiries at the United Nations," he told NBC-TV.

The Democratic Party has now returned \$1.27 million of the sum raised by Huang

bought by foreign interests, the Indonesian-based Lippo Group, who took a senior post in Mr Clinton's commerce department before becoming a full-time Democratic fundraiser.

weekend after the administration refused to hand over 33 national security council documents relating to foreign trade missions which have been linked to the fund-raising scandal.

The Democratic Party has now returned \$1.27 million of the sum raised by Huang

On Friday evening the DNC announced that it was returning \$450,000 donated by Arief Wiriadinata, a landscape gardener whose father-in-law was a top Lippo bank official.

legal US resident, although not a citizen. It now says that it is no longer sure of his resident status, since he did not file a tax return this year.

The party has now returned \$1.27 million of the sum raised by Mr Huang, including the amounts which have spurred the FBI investigation. These were donations from a fund-raiser attended by the vice-president, Al Gore, at a Buddhist temple in California.

The FBI is expected to advise the attorney-general, Jesse Reno, this week whether there are sufficient grounds to appoint an independent counsel to investigate the affair, as a Republican senator, John McCain of Arizona, has demanded.

US and China agree on summit

Bill Clinton's talks with Jiang Zemin may stabilise relations, but the president has to take account of worries at home, writes Nick Cumming-Bruce in Manila



Bill Clinton and Jiang Zemin shake hands at the economic conference in Manila

BILL CLINTON moved closer to fulfilling one of his foreign policy priorities by agreeing yesterday an exchange of visits with the Chinese president, Jiang Zemin.

Mr Clinton's trip was itself the culmination of months of negotiation by senior administration officials, notably the national security adviser, Anthony Lake, to try to set the bilateral relationship on a more positive footing.

Trade also looms large among Washington's worries at a time when China runs a deficit with the US even bigger than Japan's.

US-based Human Rights Watch Asia said yesterday, "It's a huge disappointment and a major setback for human rights in China."

US officials also stressed that even if they had established a framework for dialogue, they had a long way to go to remove the irritants which have inflamed Sino-American relations.

Mr Clinton's spin doctors were at pains to emphasise that human rights would "continue to be a very significant issue on our agenda" and said the president "put considerable emphasis" on US concern about Chinese exports of nuclear technology and weapons of mass destruction.

Trade also looms large among Washington's worries at a time when China runs a deficit with the US even bigger than Japan's.

Conspicuous by its absence in yesterday's announcement was any softening of US resistance to China's bid for swift admission to the World Trade Organisation.

Mr Clinton told Mr Jiang that they should work at the matter "pragmatically", and made it clear that the US was still looking for a better offer from China on compliance with WTO rules of entry.



Workers search for mines as a woman digs up the land just cleared by them near Quito, Angola. While the peace continues people are returning to the country, but have difficulty in finding safe fields to plant as an estimated 12 million mines were scattered all around the country during 20 years of civil war

Governments play the numbers game with missing Rwandans

In Stuttgart, military officials agreed that up to 250,000 refugees remained in eastern Zaire, but did not decide on intervention, despite UN estimates of three times that number. In Goma, Chris McGreal reports on the 'lost' people Kingall and its allies would rather forget

tion about the condition of the "lost" refugees, but most of them fled their camps a month ago. Since then they have been living off the land and kept moving by the fighting. A few individuals who have reached safety report deaths from starvation, exhaustion and disease.

too much inside the Rwandan establishment," he said. "They only ever wanted these people back to stop them providing a haven for the interahamwe and cross-border attacks."

AST week American and United Nations officials studied the same satellite photos of the same tracts of eastern Zaire and came up with entirely contradictory conclusions.

As the international debate shifts from what can be done to assist the Rwandan Hutu refugees still in Zaire to whether they even exist, the Rwandan government and its allies appear ever more willing to make the case.

As they left Goma 10 days ago the main flow lasted less than two days, without the same urgency on getting the same urgency on getting the remaining Hutus home, according to one UN official.

Whatever the real figures of those who crossed into Zaire in 1994, there is no doubt the same number have not returned to Rwanda. The exodus to Goma two years ago took three days of solid mass movement of people cranking through the border post and filling every conceivable space in the town.

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Anti-stress room is a smash hit

Jonathan Watts in Tokyo

"AT FIRST I wasn't sure if I ought to. After all, everything was so valuable. But once I got started... well, I just let rip and it felt fantastic."

When Mr Watanabe, who describes himself as an ordinary Japanese businessman, and three of his female colleagues entered the stress-relief room it resembled a tidy antique shop. Gilt-framed paintings hung on the walls, an elaborately decorated screen stood in a corner, and statues and an ornate inlaid vase were neatly arranged on a mother-of-pearl table top.

sawara explained, "but perhaps especially so in Japan. Here people are expected to keep up appearances whatever they are feeling inside. This room is a way for them to let off steam."

While smashing the room, middle-ranking managers have been heard screaming abuse at their seniors, housewives cursing their unfaithful husbands and bureaucrats ridiculing their political superiors. One customer wrote to Ms Ogasawara after a smashing session: "I can't thank you enough. You have made me look at things in a new light."

Ms Ogasawara said she was not worried. "During the bubble economy of the late 1980s there was a glut of everything in Japan - money and goods. But now that prices have fallen and people have gone bust I have been able to pick up stuff at a bargain."

War's legacy lives on in gangland

Peter Hudson in San Salvador on the rising toll from El Salvador's street gangs

VISITORS to the poor San Bartolo district of El Salvador's capital could be forgiven for forgetting where they are. Graffiti pays homage to United States hip-hop culture - an impression confirmed by local youngsters' preference for rap music, gangster-style baggy trousers cut off below the knee, and imported trainers. Their tattoos boast membership of *maras*, the street gangs which originated in Hispanic communities in the US.

The *maras* are a product of the country's fascination with north American culture. Almost a fifth of the 5.5 million population lives in the US, mainly Los Angeles, and one of the two main gangs, the Mara 18, takes its name from San Salvador's 18th Street.

Most analysts agree that the problem is wider than the *maras*. Violence permeates all levels of society - partly a legacy of the dirty war in which 75,000 people died - and the gangs are easy scapegoats for the police and courts, which lack the funding and competence to find the real culprits.

Benjamin Cuellar, director of the Institute of Human Rights at the Central American University in San Salvador, estimates that there could be 300,000 firearms left over from the war, but he believes the real problem is the failure to face up to the consequences of the conflict.

War's legacy lives on in gangland

Peter Hudson in San Salvador on the rising toll from El Salvador's street gangs

maras provides a family, territory and self-esteem," Fr Morataya says.

Former death squad members, Dr Cuellar says, have turned to burglaries and armed robberies to make ends meet.

The ruling Arena party has dropped a progressive penal code under debate, in favour of a stern law-and-order package and a move to bring back the death penalty.

But, according to Father José Morataya, a priest who works with gang members, that response ignores the reasons why the *maras* are so popular. Almost three-quarters of the country's young people live in poverty, he says, and most are born to unmarried mothers and live in overcrowded conditions.

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Inequalities rule out tax cuts

Time to help the dispossessed

WHO CAN possibly grasp all the details which will tumble out tomorrow. Budget Day now coincides with the public expenditure programme. There were logical reasons why the two were brought together so we know how much will be spent on health, education, social security — and how much tax we will pay. But it makes it much easier for a Chancellor to slash important social programmes — like he did last year — and escape the wrath that would have descended in earlier eras. All eyes — and thousands of column inches — will be concentrated tomorrow on the tax tables. Last Friday we set out the economic reasons why there should be no personal tax cuts tomorrow — a proposition which in a rare show of unity both sides of industry, the CBI and the TUC, support as well. But the social reasons for foregoing tax cuts are equally important.

Suppose, along with the mountain of other paperwork which will be released tomorrow, the Chancellor had to publish a family impact statement on the changes he has decided to introduce. Consider the grim background against which this statement would be drafted. On almost all indices — poverty, homelessness, inequality, education spending, sickness — children's quality of life has at best stood still, and on many seriously deteriorated in the last two decades. The number of homeless families has doubled; the number of children surviving on welfare has risen from seven per cent in 1979 to 26 per cent in 1994; the gap in infant mortality between rich and poor remains unacceptably wide.

Ten days ago, the latest poverty figures were released showing the gap between the poorest and richest 10 per cent had stopped widening for the first time in 20 years. But this follows a period in which income inequality has grown further and faster than in any comparable state during the last decade. The gap has widened to Victorian proportions. The poorest tenth are 13 per cent worse off in real terms than in 1979 compared to the richest tenth who are 65 per cent better off. Labour is still dithering over whether to increase income tax for people earning over £100,000. Ken Clarke certainly won't do it tomorrow. Yet one reason for the huge growth in inequality has been the huge tax cuts to the rich — giving every person on £100,000 a £15,000 annual tax rebate. Remember, the number of people living in poverty — below half average income — almost tripled since 1979 from five million to 14.1 million, before dipping by 400,000 in the latest figures. Some four million children live in these homes. One out of three children is now growing up in a home where there is no full-time worker.

Another reason for the increase in poverty is the cuts which have been made to social security. Last year the Chancellor hit the most vulnerable of all: lone parents, who even the hardline Peter Lilley had tried to defend but was finally forced to freeze both their £6.90 one parent benefit and the £5.20 premium paid to single parents on income support. Ministers intend to phase out both benefits. Standby for further moves tomorrow, even though one parent benefit conforms in every way to the Government's welfare-to-work strategy carrying over from unemployment into work. The Government's own research has shown the best way of getting lone parents into jobs is through incentives rather than penalties. It also shows lone parents are not long-term claimants, but in a transitory state. That was one reason why Peter Lilley tried to defend them.

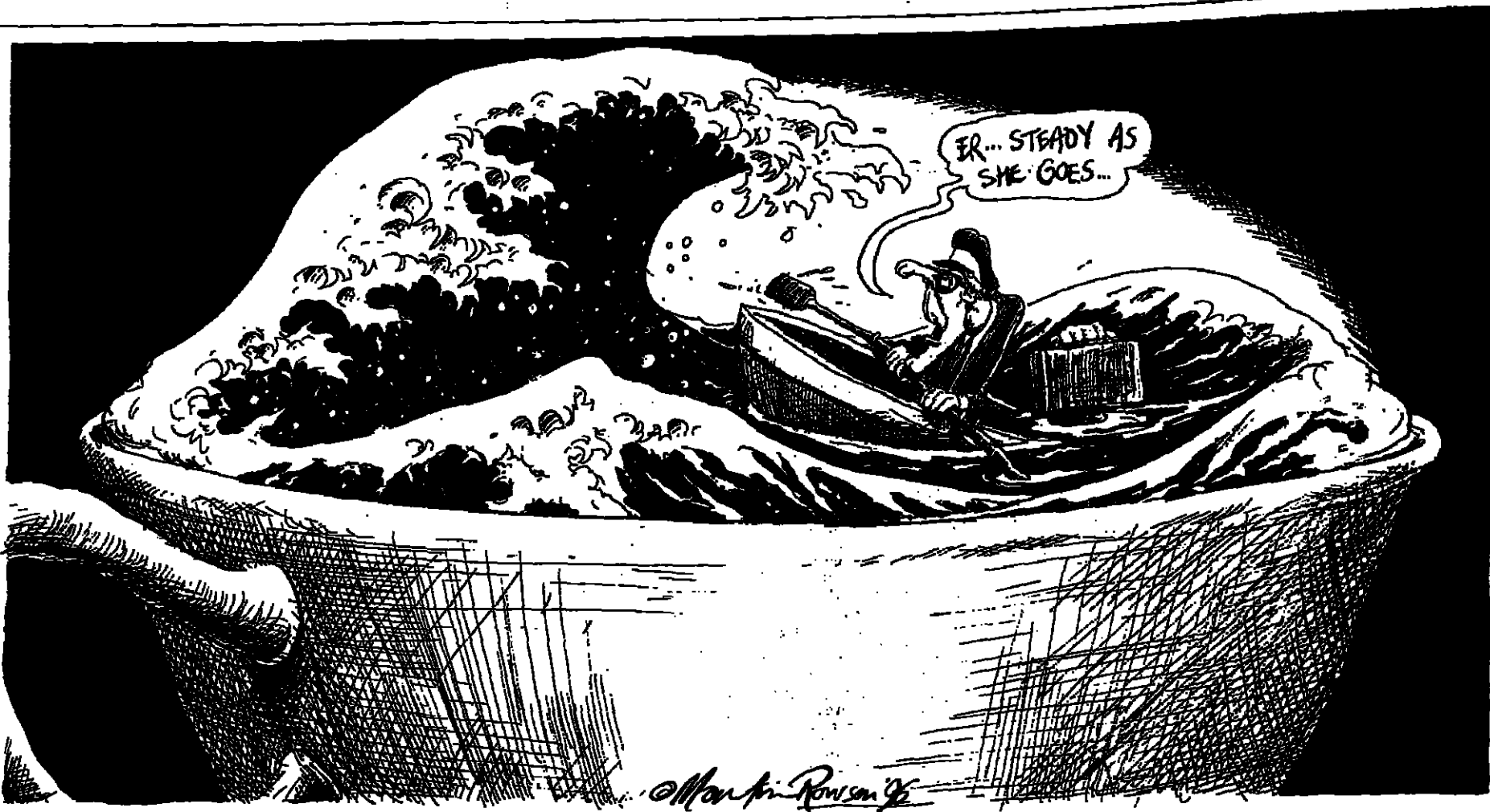
Labour has to do more than huff and puff over tomorrow's cuts. It is time, as Tony Atkinson argued in our Society columns earlier this month, for Labour to set itself targets for reducing inequality and be ready, once in government, to produce an annual poverty audit monitoring how much has been achieved. Even the Tories are supposed to be pursuing such a strategy. As signatories of the 1995 UN Copenhagen Declaration, the Government committed itself to setting targets to reduce inequality. But even though this is the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty, ministers refused to take part. Labour should signal its readiness to rectify this default.

Rigging the Court

Human rights must be universal

THE LORD Chancellor visits Britain's constitutional court today. No, not the Royal Courts of Justice on the Strand but the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg which, with over 40 judgments in UK cases, has extended British citizens' rights across the board. Its decisions have always involved fundamental rights — access to justice, free speech, free press, privacy — and frequently been far-reaching. A whole host of vulnerable minorities — prisoners, gypsies, immigrants, mental patients — have been given important new protections. But British ministers remain unhappy. A nation which has notoriously used administrative discretion to keep its citizens under control, has time and again been forced by the Court to open up its procedures and make them subject to the rule of law.

Now, as the European Court itself is due to be fundamentally changed from a two-tier part-time structure to a single-tier full-time court, ministers see a new opportunity of curbing its powers. Earlier this year the Foreign Office produced a document which called on European judges to show greater regard towards national laws and practices, more regard for "decisions by democratic legislatures and to differing legal traditions", and a curb on rulings which interfere with longstanding laws and practices. The Lord Chancellor is a distinguished lawyer but the political manoeuvrings of his cabinet colleagues should be given short shrift by Strasbourg today. A more malleable Court would certainly be more convenient to British ministers but that would not help human rights in the UK — or other parts of Europe. Do ministers really want Strasbourg to turn a blind eye to torture in Turkey, judicial delays in Italy, or oppression in Eastern Europe. The widening of the Court — there are now 40 member states — does raise important questions about appointments to the judicial body. The old system under which each state submitted three names but the favourite son was always chosen will have to change. Some form of independent judicial appointments commission is needed, but the Court must resist giving universal rights a local flavour. There's a much simpler procedure Britain could adopt to get a British angle: incorporate the European Convention into UK law.



Letters to the Editor

Beware of the state snooper

TODAY the House of Commons debates a Bill that will allow the government, in this case the DSS, to trawl through the files on each of us held by other government departments to look for inconsistencies. Any one of us could have material in a government file which might not quite tally with something in another file. Every one of us would therefore be a legitimate target for government snoopers. Civil servants' access to databases on us is particularly worrying. A National Audit Commission Report in March 1995 found that computer hacking had risen by 140 per cent in Whitehall during the previous 32 months. Most involved staff obtaining information on the public for outsiders in the absence of a Bill of Rights, regulation has come about almost entirely because of cases taken to the European Court, or by conventions such as the European Convention on Automatic Data Processing 1981. This decree that data collected for one purpose should not be used for another. John Wadhams, Director, Liberty, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA.

Enter a new Blood line

AS A longstanding member of the BMA, I was disturbed to see (Fight goes on for new life after death, November 23) that Dr Stuart Horner, chair of the BMA Ethics Committee, appears to have departed from established practice, in confining comments to the principles of BMA policy. Clearly the issue of informed consent is fundamental to good medical practice and doctors must uphold the principle of discretion that the HFEA legally has to allow export of sperm, where its use in the UK would be unlawful, was designed to allow for such an exceptional situation as that in which, tragically, Diane Blood finds herself. To suggest that the birth of a child in these circumstances would be "a tragedy" flies in the face of the available evidence (for example, how many fatherless children born after the first and second world wars would accept his view), and is offensive to many women deserted by their partners once pregnancy was confirmed. This is his personal opinion and not the collective view of the

100,000 doctors who belong to the BMA. He owes Mrs Blood an apology and I hope she will accept that his opinion is not one shared by the majority of doctors. (Dr) Wendy Savage, Past President, Medical Women's Federation, 19 Vincent Terrace, London N1 5HN.

the same thing as saying yes. Amy Truesdell, 26 Eastwood Road, London E18 1BN. I THINK Martin Kettle is being very unfair to Mrs Blood. Firstly, it is only the obduracy of the opposition that has forced her into the public arena. Turning the unwelcome intrusion into an essentially private matter into a means of furthering her cause was the only intelligent course open to her and she has remained dignified and discreet throughout. To take exception to her desire to bear her husband's child is to display a rather selective squeamishness. Many recent medical developments and even some established ones could be described as "morbid" and "creepy". As to written consent, it may indeed be true that Mr Blood, being dead, cannot clarify his intentions. However, it could equally be said that Mr Blood, being dead, couldn't give a toss. Sierra Hutton-Wilson, Priory Cottage, Church View, Evercreech, Somerset BA4 6HX.

A heavy dose: doctors and new drugs under surveillance

YOUR letter from Prof Karwin and Dr Travis (November 22) makes depressing reading and I need to put the record straight. Firstly, they allege that the advice given by the Committee on Safety of Medicines (CSM) in October 1996 about the safety of certain brands of oral contraceptives led to 40,000 extra abortions. The figures just released by the Office of National Statistics indicate that there were 2,600 excess abortions in the first quarter of 1996 compared with the first quarter of 1995. The extent to which this excess can be laid at the door of the CSM is highly contentious. Secondly, Professor Karwin and Dr Travis appear to be under the mistaken belief that "in most instances new drugs have already undergone rigorous comparisons of usefulness and safety with older and less safe drugs during clinical trials of larger number of patients". I wish this were possible, but the fact is that, on average, only 1,500 patients will have been exposed to a new product at the time of licensing. We can only undertake a provisional assessment

of the safety of a new drug at the time it is first marketed; continued surveillance of the safety of products after marketing is essential. Thirdly, your correspondent appears to believe that the Committee relies on "the reporting of individual suspected adverse events" for monitoring the safety of marketed medicines. The reporting of suspected adverse reactions (the so-called yellow card scheme) does indeed make a valuable contribution to monitoring drug safety. It is not, however, the only method available. The issues related to oral contraceptives containing desogestrel and gestodene, for example, emerged as a result of epidemiological studies. Finally, I take exception to the implication that the CSM and the Medicines Control Agency (MCA) lack individuals with expertise in pharmacovigilance. A glance at the list of members of the former, and the credentials of the latter, explains my irritation. (Prof) Michael D Rawlins, Chairman, Committee on Safety of Medicines, 1 Nine Elms Lane, London SW8 5NG.

Neutrality jettisoned in news war

THE crass remark by one Lucian Hudson of the BBC that Martin Bell "sounds to me like a celibate priest who at a certain stage in his life has decided to go and hock" represents the ignorance and institutionalised contempt for the wisdom of experience which now pervades John Birt's News and Current Affairs Directorate at the BBC (Martin Bell slates 'neutral reporting', November 23). It was interesting to see Bell's suggestion that journalists should not stand neutrally between good and evil so glibly attacked from within. Bell, myself and many other former BBC journalists can remember when the BBC party line was exactly the opposite. It was at the height of the IRA bombings and shootings in Northern Ireland. It continued at the time of the Falklands War, when Margaret Thatcher, the BBC by the throat and television journalists who referred to "The British" were denounced as traitors and subversives. We were then told that "there was no neutrality between good and evil".

Noise scales new heights

THE proliferation of music as noise pollution lamented by Jessica Duchene (So what is music not music? November 23) is really nothing new in this country. Technology has certainly increased the scale of the problem, but Chopin was making very similar complaints on his visit to London in 1848. Of the English aristocracy he wrote: "It is all the same to them whether the music they hear is good or bad, since they feel obliged to have it done from them from morning till night. In this country they have flower shows with music, dinners with music... Music is not an art and is not called art..." Basil Hewitt, 21 Marlborough Road West, Manchester M20 3EQ.

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: Overnight snow — the first of the winter — lightly dusted the tops of the Helvellyn range and dazzling sunlight flooded the dale. We took a score of photographs on and around Keldas, the delightful 1,000 feet high viewpoint overlooking Ullswater, but could have easily used several rolls of film, so striking and dramatic were the scenes. The short walk to the summit and return by way of Grisdale and Patterdale would make a bright winter's morning for elderly walkers, perhaps with sticks, but not yet ready to hang up their boots. But don't forget your camera, for the sudden sight from just before the summit of Ullswater, framed between stately Scots pines and spread out below you, will halt you in your tracks. There is no finer viewpoint, from so modest an altitude, in the district. The stone's throw from the top, in the col above the descent to Grisdale and almost hidden among trees, is the fabulous Lanty's Tarn. For 60-odd years I've admired this tarn since first spotting it across Grisdale, from the shoulder of Birks and have named a house after it. The other day the upside-down reflections of the trees in the black mirror of the tarn seemed even clearer than the reality and more film had to be exposed before we trotted down past the kennels of the Ullswater foxhounds. I'm not sure of the derivation of Keldas, an unusual name for these parts, but Lanty's Tarn is named after one Laurence Dobson whose home, marked on the map as "old castle", lay behind the cottages of Grass-White How. Many years ago the tiny natural tarn was dammed, not specifically for a water supply but to provide ice, all the year round, for the tables of Patterdale Hall, further down the dale. The ice, cut into blocks, was stored in a bowl with a steel lid within a building near the tarn, and was covered with several feet of sawdust so that the ground people at the Hall could always have ice for preserving their food, and no doubt, for their drinks. But life is much easier today. A HARRY GRIFFIN

Missing the Brussels bus will get us nowhere

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

READ from time to time that John Redwood is a clever man. If he reports are true, he can only have felt tactical surprise when he discovered that, even outside the exchange rate mechanism, Britain will be required to inspect some of its disciplines. Tony Marlow and co may have been really astonished. They are stupid enough to believe that as long as we make a rude gesture in the direction of the Germans we will be able to choose between the one-dollar pound (one of Nigel Lawson's historical achievements) and an exchange rate which is so high that it blights our export prospects. But that is only because the anti-European ultra have never bothered to think about what is happening in Europe. The premise of their argument is that only what happens in Britain really matters. The idea that — thanks to the global market

and information technology as much as to the Treaty of Rome — Britain and Europe are now indivisible has never entered their thick heads. If the Prime Minister does screw up enough courage to hold a debate on the issue, one of them ought to come to the House and explain why the Germans and the French should allow us to enjoy the European Union *a la carte*. Redwood, the *soi-disant* spokesman for cerebral Little England, was a member of the Government which voted enthusiastically for the single European market. I, unlike most of the Labour Party, shared that enthusiasm. Does he really think that Chancellor Kohl and President Chirac are now going to say: "Please continue to sell your goods into our tariff-free Union and enjoy the benefits of harmonised commercial policies and trading regulations. And, if you want to manipulate your exchange rate — sometimes low to encourage exports and sometimes high to combat inflation — that is fine by us. If it gives you an unfair advantage over the rest of the union we really do not mind"? At first glance it seems that the paradox of the sceptics' position is the assumption that the Union which they abhor will benignly agree to Britain taking the rest of Europe for a ride. I suspect that their hope of insulation from the terrible fate of a single currency rests on the assumption which is preposterous and therefore typical. They think that Europe wants, and perhaps even needs, Britain so badly that it will do anything to retain our membership. Certainly the whole drift of the Redwood policy is the demand that the other member states agree to dismantle the closely integrated community which they have built and replace it with the customs union which he prefers. We are no more likely to reinstate Harold Macmillan's European Free Trade Area than we are to distance Bismarck's Zollverein. And if we did persuade the other states to abandon the policy for which they have worked, does even the most sceptical anti-European really believe that we would not be dragged along behind

the power of stronger currencies? Which meeting does Mr Marlow imagine most influences British interest rates: the much-publicised formalities between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the governor of the Bank of England, or the Frankfurt deliberations of the Bundesbank's governing council? What the Little Englanders cannot get inside their heads is how little England — and indeed the world — has become. Whatever the political constitution and the bureaucratic arrangements, Britain is going to be influenced by decisions taken on the continent of Europe. All that we have to decide is whether or not we influence the decisions which influence us. The announcement that we will make decisions of our own is a misunderstanding of the nature of national sovereignty. That is why I find it hard to believe that Kenneth Clarke has ever — as claimed in some of yesterday's newspapers — insisted that, excluded from the EMU, Britain's budgetary policy will be "free from outside influence". Perhaps it was before Marshall Aid, but for the last 50 years, the British Government has been increasingly obliged to accommodate pressures from overseas. Even when it possessed the theoretical right to take its own decision, it had in reality only one option. No doubt Tony Marlow regrets that we withdrew from Suez before recapturing the Canal. British courts would have confirmed our sovereign right to fight on. But America — firing dollars not bullets — flooded a retreat. When, back in 1963, I became shadow Chancellor, I was instructed by a resolution of the Labour Party conference to re-establish exchange control — the prohibition of capital exports. I have no idea whether or not I would have responded to their demands, even if I had ever become the real thing. For it was clear, after 10 minutes' discussion with the City, that exchange control had become literally impossible. Thanks to the communication revolution, the money would have been out of the country before I had finished making my House of Commons state-

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Moscow Diary

James Meek

ANYONE who has ever seen a wild life documentary where a helicopter scatters a herd of wildebeest in all directions will know what it is like to come into our kitchen late at night and switch on the light. The chopper is you, and the wildebeest are the cockroaches, pouncing towards the horizon (the edge of the dishwasher top) as fast as their little legs can carry them.

When Jarvis Cocker stings about watching roaches climbing the wall, he's writing from experience. It's just that I never encountered the cockroach in Kiev five years ago. The first reaction to the ubiquitousness of the wee brown beasties was disgust and surprise. Strangely, this lasted a short time. Perhaps it was the discovery that they were so easy to kill. They don't run particularly fast, they don't hide well, and they die easily. If cockroaches were foxes, the hunt saboteurs would soon give up because the roaches are so pathetically poor at trying to save themselves.

Accordingly, the next phase was a disgraceful one of near-acceptance, almost apathy. Why should I kill them? I asked myself. Are there really so many? Do they actually do any harm? Is it not too easy? The low point was discovering a roach in my coffee. I fished it out, threw it away and finished the cup. You must understand that I was a desperately short supply in Kiev at that time, and that I knew less than I know now about the feeding habits of the insect. But — all the same.

After a while, I realised that the roaches were taking advantage of my Neville Chamberlain-like conduct. The Russians have a word — *maglost* — which describes their behaviour precisely: a mixture of arrogance, cheekiness, freedom from fear of any risk and a certain defiance. They would take to marching slowly and diagonally across the wall, right across my line of vision, while I was watching television.

This provoked the war piece to come to a head. I was to see a friend to kill. Instantly. One of my Russian teachers brought me a jar of syrupy yellow fluid which I dabbed over the skirting boards in the hope of poisoning the roaches. "Don't do what a friend of mine did," said the teacher. "He woke up with a terrible hangover one morning, saw the jar, thought it was *kvass* (beer), drank it and died." Unfortunately the roaches, teetotal to a beastie, did not fall prey to the same misadventure, and carried on their frolicking unabated.

Nonetheless, with the move to Russia, the tantalising prospect of chemical warfare segued into the inevitable dilemma that it was possible to achieve final victory over the cockroaches — encouraged, it is fair to say, by the assertion of my English predecessors in our Moscow flat that they had managed to get rid of them "by various cunning methods".

Two and a half years have gone by since then. Traps have been laid. Sprays have been sprayed, the flat is kept clean and the exterminators have been and gone three times. Yet the roaches keep coming back — using the block's water pipes as a kind of metro system, the exterminators claim desperately. We are doomed, it seems, to share our living space. We can only hope the *maglost* of our cohabitants stays within reasonable bounds.

"If a cockroach crawls into your ear," is the friendly advice on Russian daytime TV, "try putting a drop of oil in there. Don't try to take it out yourself."



Facts are dear but opinions are cheap

Commentary

Linda Grant

SCENE: 1994, the little-known central African country of Rwanda, a former Belgian colony. Half a million — perhaps even a million — Rwandans are butchered in the worst case of mass murder and genocide since Cambodia almost 20 years before. The world stands appalled at the bestial savagery. Journalists find it hard to convey the horror of what they have witnessed or been told by survivors.

Fast forward. Scene: The refugee camps on the borders of Zaire, holding hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees. After the horror of the killings, the agony of the Rwandan people endures, languishing in homelessness, sickness, worsening living conditions. Raids are made on the camps. Men die, women are raped. Witness the suffering of Africa.

It was very easy for television to miss a crucial distinction between these two sets of powerful images. The Rwandans who died in the

mess slaughter and those who were in the camps were not the same people. After the genocide of Tutsis by Hutu extremists, the army re-took control of the country and the Hutus fled. What we were seeing was analogous to 1945 reports of the liberation of Auschwitz and Belsen followed by footage of Berlin in the winter after the war ended, the buildings blitzed, the frozen people facing famine. Both the Jews and the Germans had suffered, but the latter owed their misery to being finally defeated in their attempts to annihilate the former. The tragedies were on a different scale. Without history to provide a context to individual stories of atrocity, you are lost.

The BBC's correspondent, Martin Bell, has, within the space of a month, twice attacked the neutrality of war reporting. "I do not believe we should stand neutrally between good and evil, right and wrong, aggressor and victim," he told an international conference of journalists at the end of last week. He was rebutted by a BBC apparition, who mockingly compared Bell with a priest who has decided, after a lifetime of celibacy, to "go and bunk" — that is, to abandon the laws of objectivity and balance.

Each generation throws up an example of the politically engaged journalist whose reporting has transformed the climate of opinion. For

one age, it was James Cameron. For my own, it was John Pilger, the man whose coverage of the Vietnam war and subsequent genocide in Cambodia showed that 1960s and 1970s radical politics could find their way into mainstream reporting. It was Pilger who, when the world opportunistically condemned Vietnam for invading Cambodia, argued that had it not done so, the mass murders by Pol Pot would have continued until everyone but he and his henchmen were dead.

But there is a danger to the journalism of commitment, as there is a distinction between balance and objectivity. Balance (seldom achievable in the eyes of the protagonists, as demonstrated by both Serbs and Croats angrily crying bias about TV coverage during the first year of the war in former Yugoslavia) can lead to absurdities such as refusing to report atrocities until evidence can be found of atrocities committed by the other side.

Objectivity, however, requires a sceptical mind, the painstaking seeking out of information from a variety of sources and the determination to arrive not at the story which confirms one's own beliefs, but as close an approximation of the truth as possible. Then, and only then, can you condemn. In 1989, as a self-appointed Pilger acolyte, I went to Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City

expecting to find a sturdy socialist country rebuilding itself despite the deprivations caused by the Trading with the Enemy Act. All the interpreters, who incidentally supported the Chinese government's massacre at Tiananmen Square a couple of weeks earlier, asked if I knew John Pilger, who was, they told me, a "friend to the government of Vietnam," an ominous distinction for a journalist.

"Was it wonderful?" my friends asked when I returned. No, it was awful, poised on the brink of the return of free enterprise and mass tourism, the beggars being cleared away in preparation for the next (friendly) invasion, the youth sick to reports of their parents' interminable war stories, dream-

The fans of John Pilger were appalled at what I wrote from Vietnam. I was appalled. I was a traitor to his cause

ing of consumerism, gathered in little video huts on the streets watching Rambo. Tell the truth about Vietnam, my interviewees whispered. Tell the world that we want democracy and consumer goods. The fans of Pilger were appalled at what I wrote. I was appalled. I had wanted to be a journalist in the Pilger mould. Instead, I was a traitor to that cause.

For certain periods, there are clearly demarcated lines between good and evil and it is criminal not to say so. But for most of the time what we call "news" describes issues of great complexity. Audi-

ences are hungry for sharp distinctions as an aid to understanding and it is only a pity that most conflicts lack such clearly identifiable figures as, say, Saddam Hussein and Nelson Mandela. And such is the glamour of the journalism of commitment that the rest of us do all we can to take a stand. Who does not secretly wish he or she had been Richard Dimbleby at Belsen half a century ago threatening to resign if his report was not broadcast?

Reports of the numbers of women raped in Bosnia were variously put at between 20,000 and 80,000. But some women were raped hundreds of times and some rapes were witnessed by hundreds of people. The true extent of rape, a scourge where prohibition on demand was available up to 10 weeks, was almost impossible to establish, though this did not prevent rape in Bosnia contributing to the demonisation of the Serbs. The real story was that rape had always been a fact of war. It was just that this was the first one in which feminist organisations had attempted to gather data and publicise the dirty secret.

Fact-gathering is going out of fashion. Newspapers and current affairs programmes are shuffed with unsubstantiated opinions — authored journalism with a lot of authorship and not much journalism. The real news is squeezed out, for it is cheaper to pay a columnist or academic to sit behind his or her desk in London and toss off a thousand words than maintain a bureau or pay a stringer in some godforsaken place to gather news.

We still desperately need what Martin Bell calls "journalism of attachment". And journalism must be the one place where empiricism can be used to gather news. Let's be old-fashioned and get the facts in first and proceed to our views from there.

You wait until your mother gets home



Ros Coward

EVEN if we don't go along with current bias, there are more disconcerting and distressing children than ever and their struggles with authority figures are startlingly younger. Why should our culture have such a problem with the simple task of raising the next generation?

Moralists say the failure to control children results from the breakdown of traditional authority, rooted in the church, the unchallengeable teacher and the strong parent. Their solutions are authoritarian and punitive; they will use electronic tagging to keep some children in school while brutally excluding others. Lines are to be drawn between the decent and the wicked. The model of authority is the authoritarian family, where disobedience was severely punished. Their nostalgia for authority is predictable, but it is surprising to find lack of parental authority as a concern among professionals who work with disruptive children; yet it is a key in programmes which have been highly successful in transforming children's behaviour by treating them as vulnerable rather than vicious.

Such work can be witnessed in Roger Graef's film *Breaking the Cycle* tomorrow on ITV. The film tracks a group of pre-school children whose disruptive and aggressive behaviour seems like the beginnings of a classic conflict with school. They cannot concentrate, see themselves as bad and can't be controlled. In the Marlborough House day unit the children are made to complete tasks and activities; bad behaviour is ignored; gentle restraint is often used; and the children are always praised. By the end of 10 weeks, they are co-operating with teachers and each other.

The theory is that disruptive children are frightened because they feel out of control and no one will control them. So they test the limits constantly. The unit treats them with consistency and firmness and builds their self-esteem; their parents are encouraged to reassume control gently and stop their previous negative, critical handling of the children. The parents are not chaotic nor dysfunctional. Many people will recognise a familiar spiral — reasonable requests are met with def-

ance; the upset parents respond inconsistently; the child tests the limits further. The parents descend into negative criticism, even violence.

This disintegration of parental authority is the result of the current profound change and uncertainty about the roles of men and women in the family. The old authoritarianism of the father has died and so have the structures which mirrored it, the patriarchal church and authoritarian school. Most people, whatever their political views, are not sorry to see it go. The power of the patriarch was unearned. It abused human rights, was violent and dictatorial, and terrifying for those in its power. If the pay-off was controllable children, the price was the gross subordination of women.

The power vacuum in the family has left women in uncomfortable positions. With women demanding more status and both sexes reluctant to allow men their old authority, there is uncertainty around familial authority. Frequently women, already stretched by parenting and work, find themselves also on the front line of family's moral and disciplinary struggles. Without the authoritarian father, and the control of patriarchal institutions, families now have to make the rules up as they go. This is no collapse of order but the difficult birth of a new morality that tries to teach morality without fear.

BUT evolving a liberal morality requires not just good structures of outside support but strong, confident parents who can stick to their own rules consistently and gently. And one of the problems is that women's self-esteem has not necessarily matched the structural changes. Many women are not confident in authority and cannot hold the line when what starts as an attempt to be a child's friend spirals towards endless negativity.

Modern parents are engaged in a tremendous effort to remake the basics of parenting. Their own childhood experiences only provide models of what to avoid. Most public or political discussions of parenting condemn shortcomings rather than acknowledging positive features in this tremendous change. No wonder parents of all classes get into a mess, and demand that schools deliver the order and control which is precarious in their own homes. But as Roger Graef's film demonstrates, providing authority without authoritarianism is something new. Parents need to learn how to provide it just as much as their children need to feel it.

Keep it in the family

What should the Chancellor do tomorrow? For a start, stop penalising married couples with dependent children, say Paul Ormerod and Bob Rowthorn

MODERN trends in family life are deeply worrying. There are signs of serious concern because of the many-sided costs they impose both on the members of families and on society as a whole. Over the past 30 years, marriage rates have fallen sharply. Married couples are having fewer children, whilst the number of divorces and of children born out of wedlock has increased dramatically. Almost 70 per cent of dependent children still live in the traditional family with their married, natural parents, but this share is shrinking rapidly. Nearly 20 per cent now live in a lone-parent household, 9 per cent in step-families, and 3 per cent with their unmarried, natural parents. Fathers vary widely across ethnic groups. Among black Caribbean men, 52 per cent of households with dependent children are now headed by a lone parent, as compared to 7 per cent of Indians. In the general population, 30 per cent of children are currently born to unmarried mothers.

Those who wish to belittle these trends refer derisively to "moral panic" and urge us to "celebrate the family in all its diversity". Such an ostrich-like response fails to match either the scale of the problem or its long-term consequences. Despite a vigorous rearguard action by the non-judgmental brigade, the evidence is now widely accepted that on average children brought up in a stable, two-parent family do better than in other family types. This is true for almost every indicator used to measure their personal development. It is well-known that family break-up often damages children, even when it makes one or both of their parents happier.

Even more serious, and hardly appreciated at all, are the implications of modern family trends for the elderly, partly because the full effects will not be evident until well into the next century. Stable families create a network of reciprocal obligation between generations, siblings and partners. This helps to ensure provision of help in times of need, and is the primary source of care in old age.

According to the General Household Survey, 93 per cent of informal care for the old is provided by family members, especially spouses and children. Friends and neighbours hardly figure. We are sitting on a time-bomb. The growth of lone-parent families, divorce and family reorganisation is cre-



ating many millions of people without close family ties of any kind. Even where people re-partner, it is questionable how far second or third marriages or cohabitations will establish a strong sense of mutual obligation between partners or their recently acquired relatives.

Who will look after the old in 30 or 40 years' time? On present family trends, there will be millions of old people without anyone to care for them. Quite apart from the personal misery involved, this will impose a huge financial burden on the state, since many of those concerned will be unable to afford professional care. Marriage is a powerful source of social stability. It is

supportive framework in which to raise children, and provides a natural network of care for the elderly. Traditionally, it has been an important way of socialising young men. Whatever may be the shortcomings of this institution, it is the best we have got. Issues of sexual morality are irrelevant. The arrangements which people make in private behind the net curtains do not concern society. But the consequences of a breakdown of this institution are our concern.

To perform its functions properly, marriage must have both a special status and special responsibilities. People should be encouraged to get and to stay married. Unfortunately, many of the fiscal and legal changes we have adopted in Britain are serving to undermine this institution. Married couples, especially those with children, are heavily taxed through tax and benefit changes over the past 15 years. No matter how rich they are, lone parents receive a special benefit which is not available to married couples. A married couple with two children in receipt of Family Credit is £4 to £9 a week worse off than a single person with the same number of children earning the same wage. Lone parents receive preferential treatment in many other ways. For example, British Academy student-

ships provide an allowance for dependent children, but this is available only to single parents and not to those who are married.

This is not an argument for penalising single parents, but for reversing the financial changes which have penalised married couples with dependent children. These families — and single parents — account for most of the child poverty in this country and they must be supported properly.

Legal reforms have reduced the incentive for commitment in marriage. The terms of a divorce are limited, have become virtually unrelated to the cause of the break-up. A man who deserts his family for another woman in practice receives the same rights over property and children, and the same financial obligations, as the dutiful husband whose wife may divorce him and evict him from the family home simply because she is in love with someone else.

The new Family Law Act was a step in the right direction, but on the basis of their past record, it is very doubtful whether the

It is essential for social stability that redress be restored to marriage partners and divorce be made harder

courts will take this job seriously. In commercial life, partners embarking on a business venture make commitments to each other which are enforceable at law. If the other parties do not honour their side of the contract they can sue, either to enforce performance or for damages. This provides potential partners with the security they require to invest wealth and energies in a joint venture with others.

A market economy could not flourish without this framework of justice. It is essential for social stability that similar effective redress be restored to partners in the contract of marriage and that divorce, in general, be made harder.

Marriage performs an invaluable social function, which the current obsession with morality serves to obscure rather than to clarify. More difficult than restoration of the concept of justice in the marriage contract, and shifts in the tax and benefit structure towards married couples — in all these cases actions, not words, are needed.

Paul Ormerod is the chair of Post-Orthodox Economics and author of *The Death of Economics*. Bob Rowthorn is Professor of Economics at Cambridge University, and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

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'I shall go to the Congo', Guevara said, 'because it is the hottest spot in the world now... I think we can have the imperialists at the core of their interests in Kasanga. (Nasser was astonished, warning Guevara not to become 'another Tarzan, a white man among black men, leading them and protecting them... It can't be done.'

CHE GUEVARA'S MISSING YEAR

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Terence Donovan

The magic of seeing images

TERENCE DONOVAN who has committed suicide at the age of 60 was incapable of being ordinary. He didn't look ordinary, he never said anything ordinary, his photographs were never ordinary, his commercials were never ordinary, his humour was never ordinary. Even when he presented "ordinary" in the way he always dressed in the same grey flannel suit, white shirt, black tie, black shoes and socks, his sartorial philosophy was far from ordinary. Thirty-five years ago he decided that he didn't want the hassle of deciding what to wear each morning, so he bulk-ordered identical suits, shirts, shoes — and never dressed.

Donovan was a big man with an uncompromising approach to life and work. In the 1960s, David Bailey and Donovan revolutionised fashion photography in this country and reinvented the photographer-model relationship. Their work projected the raw, classless glamour epitomised by Julie Christie, Celia Hammond and Jean Shrimpton. They bought Rolls-Royces, lived with their models and never lost their obsession for the craft of photography. One of the few photographers to develop all his own work, Donovan retained his sense of

department of a Fleet Street blockmaker, he discovered his gift. It made him famous, but he always stressed that it was photography that interested him, not being a photographer. Donovan's father died of lung cancer before his only son's career took off, and Terence scrupulously refused to work on any tobacco endorsing campaigns or allow cigarette smoke into his studio. A judo black belt, Donovan loved the anonymity of the karate mat. "Nobody gives a stuff how much wedge you've got on the mat," he said, slightly sending up his own tendency to talk in telephone numbers of the large amounts of money he never really got used to earning. Donovan's long relationship with karate was the root of his philosophy of life and infused a Zen



He cultivated a hard, man-of-steel exterior, erecting a karate wall around himself as protection for a deeply sensitive soul

quality into his photographs, paintings, the spaces he created and into his generosity of spirit. He cultivated a hard, man-of-steel exterior, erecting a karate wall around himself as protection for a deeply sensitive soul. His humour was never at the expense of others. Saying that someone had "no receive button" was about as derogatory as he got. Donovan was the opposite. His sensitivity and laser-sharp intuition were never one-way. When a friend had a problem he was the first to quietly go about helping him. Donovan leaves three children, Daniel from his first marriage, named after his father, and Terence and Daisy from his happy 26-year mar-

riage to Diana St Felix Dara. An unconventional family man, who refused to go shopping or on long holidays, he was immensely proud of his children and his wife's accomplishments. Donovan never missed an opportunity to marvel at Diana's ability to impress, interest and surprise him. One of his most endearing qualities was his ability to approach the same subject from different angles. Thirty years passed between the only two times I saw him in the country. In 1965 he got out of his Rolls, slightly sending up his own tendency to talk in telephone numbers of the large amounts of money he never really got used to earning. Donovan's long relationship with karate was the root of his philosophy of life and infused a Zen

quality into his photographs, paintings, the spaces he created and into his generosity of spirit. He cultivated a hard, man-of-steel exterior, erecting a karate wall around himself as protection for a deeply sensitive soul. His humour was never at the expense of others. Saying that someone had "no receive button" was about as derogatory as he got. Donovan was the opposite. His sensitivity and laser-sharp intuition were never one-way. When a friend had a problem he was the first to quietly go about helping him. Donovan leaves three children, Daniel from his first marriage, named after his father, and Terence and Daisy from his happy 26-year mar-

one knew who they were and what they were. In the beginning, he had assisted Michael Williams, John Adrian and the legendary John French, who sponsored many other fashion photographers. After working as a military photographer, Donovan opened his own studio as a 22-year-old. It was his early 1960s work for Town magazine which focused attention on him. Where before there had been dull, formulaic coverage of male fashion with men photographed sitting on shooting sticks in Regatta Park, Donovan took the model to the gasworks. His 1961 gangster series for Town anticipated Bond movies and his man-about-town picture for Rodex using a tobacco shop as a background could, in its subtlety of pop culture and urban nostalgia, have been conceived by Peter Blake. No one has come close in the last 30 years to what Donovan and the other two East Enders achieved in fashion photography. What staggered him was how much he got paid for it. His catchphrase was "speed of light, darling" and he was more interested in the photograph than the fashion. He worked at a time when photographers just went for it. Now, the clothes are king and the stylist queen, so not much is left to the wit and drive of the man behind the camera. Donovan enjoyed being part of the scene and while his great male friends and rock videos, and the awards, he always returned to his first passion, photography. He has been seen in the photo press recently still advertising a camera he used 20 years ago. If it's good enough for Donovan, it must be good.

When, in later life he became a Buddhist, when he became an expert on judo, when he spent whatever time he could find exploring the visual areas which could not be revealed through photography, using paint as his medium, it was not because it was fashionable. It was because it chimed with an intrinsic moral need which his fame and hard work were unable to still. And this is the clue to the

man. Snapping sharp little dolly birds, creating solenne commercials and capturing the fashion mood of the moment were fine. Donovan loved the manner in which he earned his living. But there was so much more that required expression. Few of his colleagues realised this. A Donovan shoot was always a relaxed, happy occasion, enlivened by his witty commentaries and jokes. He

wanted the people around him to enjoy what they were doing as much as he enjoyed his part in it. It wasn't merely that he knew that a happy crew produces the best results. It was because he was a rarity in fashion circles — a truly kind and compassionate man. Donovan had time for everyone and was singularly unimpressed by gangster and importance. As someone who worked closely with him for



Sixties giants... Bailey, Duffy and Donovan on the other side of the lens ARNOLD NEWMAN

years commented: "He was a like a rock for everyone. Quiet, reflective and ultimately deeply private, the mystery of Donovan that will remain for all his friends across the world is why that strength ran out with such a dramatic lack of warning."

Terence Daniel Donovan, photographer, born September 14, 1936; died November 22, 1996

Sorley Maclean

Poet of the Gaelic world

SOMHAIRLE macChaluim, "ic Chaluim 'ic Iain 'ic Thairnald 'ic Iain 'ic Thairnald" — he said that was as far back as he could go on Rannas could go with certainty. Sorley Maclean, the only Scottish Gaelic poet of our day to take the old language and use it in new ways to address contemporary life and international issues. But he was not a judge, would dream of denigrating the knowledge of his Gaelic, Sorley Maclean, English as Sorley Maclean, who has died aged 84 was the outstanding figure in 20th-century Gaelic writing.

he worked until until his 1972 retirement. It was in the 1970s that his work made its full impact. Iain Crichton Smith's translations of *Poems to Eimhir* appeared in 1971, a record of Maclean reading, soon followed, and his selected poems, *Reithairis Conraigh, Spring Tide and Neap Tide* in a bilingual volume in 1977. His work was received with amazement in England, with special delight in Ireland, and with wide acknowledgement in Europe, North America and the Commonwealth. Maclean's themes are of universal interest — the cruelty of history, the agonies of unhappy love, the horrors of war and pride in one's own people. The intensity of his handling of them comes from his own sense of rootedness in Gaelic culture, and from his reduced to under 80,000 speakers in Scotland, and declining also in Canada, but original to areas which have sent men and women all over the world and have never been out of touch with the currents of history. Seamus Heaney has recalled how when he first read Maclean's work in English, "it was like opening the door on a morning of sea-filled brightness; there was a feeling of unspecified freedom and intensity". There was also a "second discovery" when he heard Maclean read in Gaelic in Dublin, and experienced "the true climate of his linguistic world." A memory of his impact which I treasure is of a performance he gave during the 1986 Com-

monwealth Writers Conference in Edinburgh, heading a stately bill of Scottish and Caribbean virtuoso readers. An English BBC man there told me afterwards about the impact of hearing Maclean's early death saddened his last years. But none of the honorary degrees which were loaded on him can give him as much pleasure as the admiration of young writers, whether they used English, Scots or Gaelic, who saw him as an embodiment of greatness in Scottish literature. That Gaelic remains central in the perception of Scottish culture shared by youthful generations is due to his poetry more than to anything else. He wrote of the Desert War: "... though I do not hate Rommel's army... I am of the big men of Braes of the heroic Raasay MacLeods, of the sharp-sword Mathesons of Lochalsh, and the men of my name — who were braver when their ruinous pride was kindled". His generosity there, putting himself in perspective, evokes life in history with a grandeur that only Yeats in recent times has matched.

ahead as a memorial evening. His poems, written in Gaelic and English, and his songs, Mary as an artist — followed him in the work of restoring pride to Scottish culture and making new things in it. Catriona's early death saddened his last years. But none of the honorary degrees which were loaded on him can give him as much pleasure as the admiration of young writers, whether they used English, Scots or Gaelic, who saw him as an embodiment of greatness in Scottish literature. That Gaelic remains central in the perception of Scottish culture shared by youthful generations is due to his poetry more than to anything else. He wrote of the Desert War: "... though I do not hate Rommel's army... I am of the big men of Braes of the heroic Raasay MacLeods, of the sharp-sword Mathesons of Lochalsh, and the men of my name — who were braver when their ruinous pride was kindled". His generosity there, putting himself in perspective, evokes life in history with a grandeur that only Yeats in recent times has matched.



Highland highlights... Sorley Maclean near his home on Skye

Bernard Rose

Harmonic innovation

BERNARD ROSE, who has died aged 80, was a choirmaster, tutor, scholar, lecturer and composer of immense distinction. When he arrived as organist from the Queen's College, Oxford, at Magdalen College in 1957, he inherited a choir that had never recovered from the difficulties of the war years. Most of the men were lay clerks who had spent many years singing in cathedral and collegiate choirs and felt that they maintained the tradition and that the organist had to be schooled in their ways. They had not recognised that the choir progressed in remarkable and as organ scholar at the time, I can testify to the transformation that took place under Dr Rose's direction. We all knew we were involved in something very special yet even in later years Bernard never received the credit for transforming Magdalen into one of the finest choirs in the world. It was down to earth. Long before photographers and commentators would have been able to write about him, he had five younger brothers and sisters to support.

He was down to earth. Long before photographers and commentators would have been able to write about him, he had five younger brothers and sisters to support. He had a keen sense of humour and his language was, at times, colourful. As undergraduate, he was unwise to argue with him but behind his bluff and seemingly hard exterior there was a wonderful warmth of friendship which was expressed most richly in letter form. He never forgot his friends and would do anything he could for them. He was a strict disciplinarian with the choir, but this was necessary if standards were to be raised. If he had to be away from college, there would always be the detailed note of what was to be practised the next day. Alongside his direction of the choir, his work as a tutor in the college as particularly as his lecturing in the music faculty. Many prominent musicians, composers

and academics owe much to his teaching. Added to these dual roles was his work as a scholar, particularly his editions of the works of Thomas Tomkins. He identified with this composer and relished the choir's singing of verse anthems that he had edited. Not surprisingly, the choir's first major recording under his direction was of Tomkins's works. Over the years he edited four volumes of *Early English Church Music and Handel's Susanna* (1967). His own compositions, which included a number of settings of the canticles, were well crafted. Rose's responses, composed in 1959, were the first set of "modern" responses and set the style for many subsequent composers. They are known and sung the world over and to the wider church it is for these that he will be remembered. Bernard Rose was a chorister at Salisbury Cathedral and after further private education he went on to study at the Royal College of Music from 1953-58. Bernard was Organ Scholar of St Catherine's College, Cambridge, and at the outbreak of the war was appointed organist at the Queen's College, Oxford where he returned after war service during which he served in North Africa, Italy and France. Besides his college duties, he was a POW from 1944-45. He was conductor of the Eglesfield Musical Society and conductor of the Oxford Orchestral Society. He was choragus in the University of Oxford from 1958-63 and a most effective vice-president of Magdalen from 1976-75, during which time he arranged

for the college silver to be cleaned, catalogued and displayed. In the wider spheres of music, he was a member of the council of the Royal College of Organists and its president from 1974-76. He also delighted in his appointment as vice-president of the City of Oxford Silver Band, in recognition of his services to music, he was appointed OBE in 1980. Last May, in honour of his 80th birthday, academician clerics and organ scholars met at Magdalen to express their gratitude for his achievements and his friendship. During the ceremony the newly-struck Rose medallion was presented to the senior chorister as a companion to the Stainer Cross worn by the head chorister. For Bernard Rose, this was the grand finale. During his last few years, he was cared for at home by Molly, his wife of 57 years. Molly's hospitality first at Hampton then Appleton and finally at Hampton again is something for which many undergraduates, colleagues, friends and relatives will be remembered. They both gave so much to so many people. By coincidence, the anthem we sang at Peterborough on the day he died was one of his own *Surely, though hast taster that the Lord is good*. To which Bernard would have said "Ay to that". Bernard Rose is survived by Molly and their three sons.

Bernard William George Rose, organist, born May 9, 1916; died November 21, 1996

Birthdays

Sir John Drummond, former director of the Proms, 62; Maria Fyfe, Labour MP, 66; Alan Keen, Labour MP, 68; Charles Kennedy, Liberal Democrat MP, 37; Yvonne Kenny, operatic soprano, 46; Imran Khan, former cricketer, 44; Dr Mauno Koivisto, president of Finland, 78; Sir Fergus Montgomery, Conservative MP, 68; Sir Michael Morris, Conservative MP, 68; Paul Murphy, Labour MP, 68; Richard Seffert, architect, 38; Lord (Bernard) Weatherill, former Speaker of the Commons, 76; Sir Peter Wright, former director, Birmingham Royal Ballet, 70.

Death Notices

FARQUHAR, Andrew, died peacefully aged 85 on 19th November. The funeral will be held at 1pm on 27th November at St Luke's, 60, Westmoreland Street. A reception will be held from about 2pm at the hospice, 10, Westmoreland Street. Inquiries to St Luke's, 60, Westmoreland Street, London EC2A 3JH. Enquiries to Middleton and Wood 01842 24207.

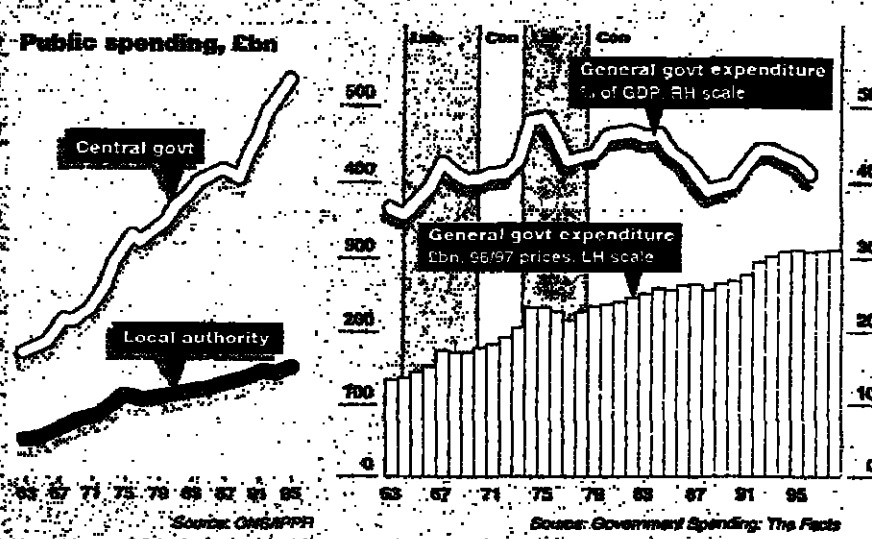
In Memoriam

HANSAVY, Alan Russell, 1914-1991. Endowed with a wonderful sense of humour and a keen sense of justice, you loved the earth, and light in your eyes and laughter in your mouth, you would surely be smiling as you look down on your family. Love you forever. Inquiries to 01753 4527, Fax 01753 4129.

صكنا من الامم



Where the money went



ELECTION BATTLEGROUND/Budget and EMU will impose unnecessary austerity

This penny-pinching attitude amounts to irresponsibility



Larry Elliott

IF THE runes have been read right, the 19th budget of the Thatcher-Major era should place the basic rate of income tax a full 10p in the pound lower than it was in May 1979. The expected cut to 23p tomorrow will, no doubt, be an occasion for the usual political point-scoring.

But, for all the talk of fiscal revolutions, the anxious tone of last week's government attack on the cost of Labour's 80 alleged spending pledges reflects ministerial concern that voters are showing scant gratitude for the handiwork of Sir Geoffrey Howe and his successors.

The problems for the Conservatives are threefold. First, their record is distinctly mixed. Income tax has been reduced, at the expense of making the overall tax system far less progressive. Once VAT, national insurance and all the other little taxes are added up, the tax burden is as big now as it was in 1979.

Nor has the original Thatcherite aim of rolling back the state come close to being realised, except perhaps in the wild excesses of Lady Thatcher's imagination. In the last full year of the Callaghan administration, the state accounted for 24 of every £10 spent in the UK. Today it still spends 24 of every £10.

The Government would say that, compared with other countries, this is a good record. To hold state spending steady in Britain when it has been going up across the rest of Europe is seen as proof that privatisation and the attempt to bring some of the traits of the private sector to bear on health and education have been worthwhile.

But again this claim warrants careful examination. Whereas 20 per cent of public expenditure went on social services in the mid-1970s, some 20 years of long-term unemployment and rising levels of poverty have raised that to 34 per cent.

And, for all the penny-pinching, the Government is still unable to balance its books. For an economy in the fifth year of recovery, the public sector borrowing requirement is far too high, and the legacy of the fiscal incontinence of the 1980s is that debt interest payments are going through the roof.

The sensible move at this point would be to raise taxes

aggressively. Consumer spending is already growing steadily and, with the prospect of building society windfalls to come, is in no need of any further stimulation. Keeping fiscal policy tight would take the pressure of monetary policy and allow the Chancellor to continue with the successful post-Black Wednesday macro-economic stance.

This brings us to the Government's second problem: politics. Such is the cynicism of the electorate that the build-up to tomorrow's Budget has been one of the most low-key on record.

Put simply, the Government is juggling with two big numbers. The first is the likely £26 billion budget deficit this year; the second is Labour's 20-point poll lead.

Tax cuts are seen as politically vital but can be afforded only if the public can be convinced that a different set of criteria should be used to judge fiscal probity in the fifth year of a parliament to those in the first.

Labour is irritated by the incoherence with which Mr Clarke has given the impression, this autumn, that he is prepared to commit political hara-kiri rather than accede to the demands of his clamorous backbenchers.

It suspects that any tax cuts will be predicated on wholly implausible numbers for public



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How to give Europe a New Deal

Stuart Holland

PLANS for a single currency could break rather than make Europe. The European Monetary Institute, forerunner of a European Central Bank — has just pronounced that only three member states are set to meet the conditions. But if all 15 do so the implications are worse.

The spending cuts to meet the 3 per cent budget deficit and 60 per cent debt rules could lose Europe another 12 million jobs. We would be back to the 1930s with a vengeance.

Almost none of this is necessary. National parliaments have endorsed the Maastricht treaty to enable the European Union — rather than member states — to borrow and invest on its own account. The instrument is the European Investment Fund in Luxembourg.

This wider context is why the Fund and union bonds were designed. They featured as key means to achieve the 15 million jobs target in the 1993 Delors white paper. The

recovery of full employment and growth.

Union bonds issued by the Fund should not count against the national debt of member states, provided the on-lending is not to governments but to the actual users.

Because as yet it has no borrowings, the debt base of the European Union is zero. The US should be so lucky as Europe could be now.

Europe is imposing self-inflicted austerity to achieve monetary union. By issuing its own bonds, it could instead offset cuts in national spending, reduce unemployment and make it possible for most member states to join a single currency by 1993. This in turn would make enlargement feasible on a rapid enough schedule to avoid the power vacuum in central and eastern Europe of which President Havel recently warned.

This wider context is why the Fund and union bonds were designed. They featured as key means to achieve the 15 million jobs target in the 1993 Delors white paper. The

trans-Europe transport, energy and communications networks in the white paper are strikingly similar to the New Deal programme. So far they lack public co-finance. Through bond issues, the Fund could provide it, as well as expand its credit guarantee and venture capital provisions for small and medium firms. It also could finance a host of labour-intensive urban regeneration projects.

The statutes of the Fund allow it to borrow and invest 60 billion euros (£46 billion), equivalent to three-quarters of the commission's total annual budget for the agricultural, regional, social and other funds. DG II — the finance and economy directorate of the European Commission — recommended investing as much over two years in its Scenarios 2000 strategy paper of 1993, and said it would not be inflationary. Had this been done, more member states could have met the single-currency criteria this year with growth several multiples of the investment.

More could be done in

future by raising the Fund's borrowing limit. The effect on interest rates should be broadly neutral because upwards pressure from the new bonds would be offset by lower national rates as governments cut their borrowing to meet the Maastricht criteria.

The Fund exists. The machinery is in place. But the European Council needs to authorise issue of the bonds. This was on the agenda of the Florence meeting in June and opposed only by Germany and the UK. The UK position could change next year. Germany's situation has already changed. It is no longer on trend to meet even the budget deficit benchmark for the euro.

Chancellor Kohl showed political vision when he overrode his finance minister and the Bundesbank on parity for the Ostmark and Deutschmark. In so doing he united Germany. Will he now agree to issue the bonds and unite Europe?

Stuart Holland runs Associate Research in Economy and Society, and is a former Labour MP

Your guide to interpreting our Ken's farewell Budget giveaway

Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

TOMORROW, in his final, farewell, retirement appearance, the Chancellor presents Budget '96! Use this absolutely last-edition Clarke-speak guide, for old time's sake...

Last year, I committed myself to stable and sustainable growth. But that was before house prices started moving up again.

In no way, I declared, would we be tempted into staging another phony boom. Luckily, it's staged itself!

Now, the fruits of stability are evident. Soaring wages

and house prices, a wildly-overvalued exchange rate.

Had I predicted such prosperity even last year, I should have been accused of chronic over-optimism. Except by Edie George, who rumbled me a long time ago.

But, at last, the British people can enjoy the rewards of five years' hard slog. By the unemployed.

Let no one be in any doubt that the recession was painful. We need no lessons from the honourable gentlemen opposite on the very real pain of unemployment. We're about to discover it for ourselves!

A new, prosperous, middle-England is coming into being. Goldman Sachs partners, Life dealers, corporate financiers.

Its members the hard-work-

ing, ordinary people often overlooked. Utility fat-cats, ex-ministers in industry, management consultants.

Labour's so-called windfall tax on utilities could be an iniquitous confiscation of money. And its return to the people we stole it from.

For that reason alone, it ought to be resisted: By bought-and-paid-for backbenchers.

I turn to Europe. There's a surprise!

My colleagues have an open mind on the single currency. But I don't.

Whatever the merits, Britain will qualify for membership shoulder to shoulder with some of Europe's leading economies: Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Cyprus.

But now I restrict myself to

more technical matters. Another huge tax distortion on the way.

I have received representations from industry. And another vast subsidy to assorted CBI members.

And am persuaded of the case for assistance: Here comes a colossal tax-break for business at just the wrong point in the cycle.

Brewers and tobacco companies are anxious on the subject. But that's too bad.

Health considerations, however, rule out substantial alterations to the tax regime. Told you!

We are committed to prudence, responsibility and stability. After the election.

With that in mind, I turn finally to income tax. Hey rock and roll!

Rugby Union

International matches: England 54, Italy 21

Gomarsall draws electric charge from power pack

Robert Armstrong at Twickenham sees new-look England make an impressive start

ENGLAND'S seven-try victory over Italy served as the ideal warm-up for the serious business of taking on the New Zealand Barbarians here next Saturday.

An awesome performance by the pack, which contained four of the seven new caps and plundered four tries, and a stunning debut by the scrum-half Andy Gomarsall, who scored twice, signposted the way England may be planning to meet the Kiwi challenge.

Given the presence of so many newcomers, it was the best possible start to the season's seven-match international programme. England did go off the ball after an hour's play — something they must not do against the New Zealanders — but by then glorious passages of explosive football had built a 42-7 lead, and even though the Italians scored three tries the hosts finished firmly in command.

England's captain Phil de Glanville, who acted as a tireless fetcher and carrier for his free-ranging forwards, pointed out that their next opponents, the All Blacks in all but name, will not allow the same freedom as the Italians, who saw the game slip away inexorably within half an hour. Nevertheless Jack Rowell will be greatly encouraged by the dynamic rugby his youthful side produced on their first outing together.

"New Zealand play rhythmic, controlled, patterned rugby which is beyond anyone else; they have all the pieces on the chess-board," warned the England coach. "Still, let's see what the English bulldog can do. We have made several changes, investments for the future, and today we proved we have excellent running forwards who will give us an edge when we play the big teams."

England's No. 8 Chris Sheasby, operating cheek by jowl with his Wasps team-mates Dallaglio and Gomarsall, launched his best career with a hard, athletic display of driving through the midfield that set the

Italy found it impossible to contain the English juggernaut

tempo for the afternoon. Like Sheasby, Rodber, Johnson and Regan combined to outpower the Italians with sustained authority, and when the front-row replacements Hardwick and Greening came on to win their first caps they added strength and bite to the forward effort.

Italy found it impossible to contain the English juggernaut because they could not win any line-out ball and their loose forwards, who were effective only for a 10-minute period in the final quarter, lacked muscle.

The Italy captain Massimo Giovanelli said: "It was hard for us to find the right way to play — we lost a lot of ball in

cluding the vital element of surprise, looks a good bet for the 1999 World Cup.

Wiseley the fly-half Catt did not try to cook an exotic concoction with too few eggs, not that Carling needed any prompting to launch a series of powerful runs and big hits that rattled the Italians to the marrow. Catt was able to focus on his goalkicking after botching an early close-range penalty; the Bath playmaker finished with a respectable 19 points from five conversions and three penalty goals.

The left-wing Adebayo had only limited opportunities to strut his stuff, though one coasting midfield break deserved reward. On the right, Sleighthorne was given a single scoring chance from a sliced chip by Catt and he took it with panache, racing in an arc from the touchline to the posts. Simpson at full-back was rock solid under the high ball but his attacking skills, *force majeure*, stayed under wraps.

This was probably the most expensive forward game England have ever played. Dallaglio and Johnson in turn were driven over in explosive style to make touchdowns and later Rodber skipped through like a silky centre, courtesy of a scoring pass from de Glanville. In the last minute Sheasby deservedly tunneled his way through a ruck to rub salt in Italian wounds.

"We had a lot of control that was good variety," said de Glanville, "and the whole effort was a very good foundation for what we're trying to achieve. All the new caps had a superb game; you have to contribute to the team on the pitch and that's exactly what they did."

open play as well as the line-out — but I'm proud of my team; in the second half they were lionhearted, and with that mentality we will get to the top level."

England's full potential will only emerge in the new year when they play France and next summer when they visit Australia. In the meantime de Glanville will give no credence to the New Zealanders' risible suggestion that they are not treating this Saturday's match as a Test; he is a bit too long in the tooth to count on 15-man basketball from Sean Fitzpatrick's men.

It would be facile to complain about the lack of expensive play among England's three-quarters when back-row expertise generated a half-fal of tries. Gomarsall was perhaps the chief beneficiary of the forwards' flexible game plan, spinning away from ill-timed tackles to score from short range in each half. The Wasps No. 9, who shows a versatile grasp of options in-

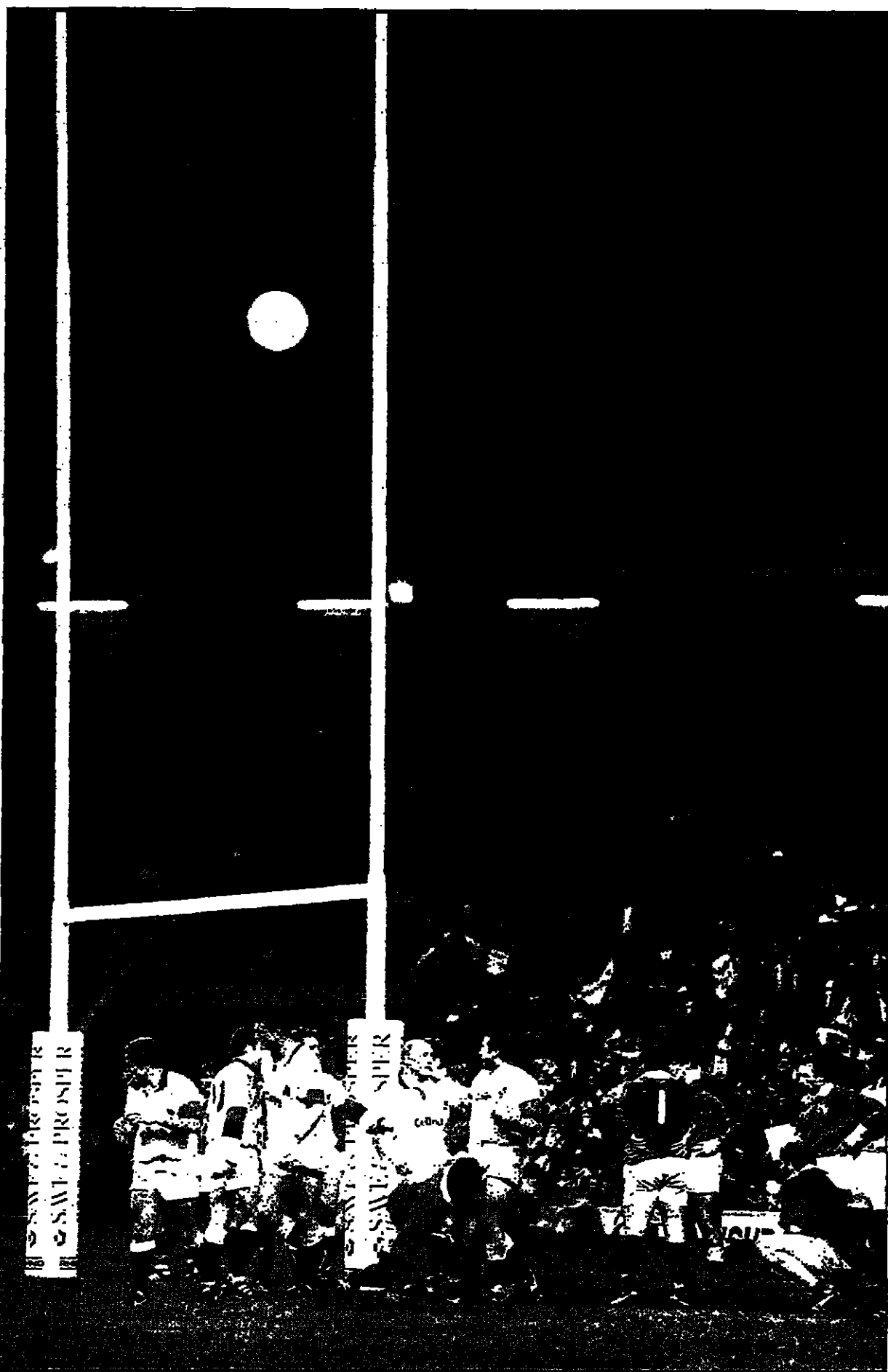
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display. Under the Dublin floodlights 12 days earlier Ireland had chased shadows against Western Samoa. But on a freezing afternoon a side showing nine changes recalled their old fire.

But Kidd's fears that Australia had another gear or two were realised. With 10 minutes remaining Paul Burke, who had enjoyed an excellent return at fly-half for Ireland, saw his 40-yard penalty drop short for his first miss of the game. Five minutes later Ireland, still 15-12 down, attempted to counter-attack from their own half, but James Topping was toppled by three tacklers and George Gregan gave his half-back partner David Knox, who was more than a hint of a forward



Once in a blue moon... England's No. 8 Chris Sheasby (ball in hand) receives the congratulations of his team-mates after scoring his first international try and his side's seventh against Italy

Tour match: North 0 NZ Barbarians 86

No try for Lomu in 14

DAVID PLAMMER

SNOWBALL and hell summed up yesterday's debacle at Huddersfield. All Black wolves in the sheep's clothing of the New Zealand Barbarians destroyed the fall guys conscripted to the North's cause with 14 tries.

After the walk-out by the Sale Eight on Friday, the North had one work-out in borrowed tracksuits. A cobble-mixture of Crowell, Wakefield, Rotherham and Fylde players had about as much chance as Spennymoor of beating Manchester United. The scene was fairytale in the snow at the McAlpine Stadium. The experience was anything but that.

Their one triumph was in preventing Jonah Lomu from scoring. The big wing cruised through two tacklers but always there was a third to assist in bringing him down.

For Fran Cotton, the Lions' manager in South Africa next summer, North chairman and chief defender of the divisional faith, it was a particularly sorry afternoon. "I was embarrassed by the actions of the Sale players. They let themselves, their club and the North of England down. It was a very bad error of judgment by a small group of players."

Those players felt themselves over-exposed by four games for the North in 12 days. The exposure threat in freezing conditions was certainly real. But John Spencer, the North's team manager who assembled a side of volunteers within a few hours of the withdrawal, attached no blame to the Sale players or their club. Instead he condemned the politics of the Epruc-RFU dispute. "I think it's despicable that any club can stand between a player and his international career prospects. It's immoral in rugby terms and it's been a lesson to all those people who've given their time free to rugby down the years."

The right-wing Richard Thompson nearly snatched a try at the end, Vidiri's boot coming to the rescue, and although the Wakefield player usually ended up second-best in his tussle with Lomu, once being dragged 50 metres and flung into an advertising hoarding, he epitomised the never-say-die spirit against an irresistible Kiwi tide.

The first four Barbarian tries were by forwards before Christian Cullen, with a shake of his hips, got on the score-sheet. It was 40-0 at the interval and, despite a lull of 15 minutes, the last quarter brought a further torrent of points.

SCOTLAND New Zealand Barbarians: Tyson Blowers 3, Vidiri 3, Cullen 2, Randall, Brown, Mills, Fothergill, Spence, Brooker. Conversion: Spence 7, McPherson.

NORTH: P. Massey (Wakefield); R. Thompson (Wakefield); J. Harper (Doncaster); G. W. Sheffield (Fylde); L. Ryan (Orkney); G. Anderson (Fylde); S. Burnhill (Rotherham, 70); S. Mann (Rotherham); D. Crowell (Wakefield, capt); M. Wakefield (Wakefield); J. Turner (Wakefield); A. Ludman, Harrogate, 58; P. Wakefield (Wakefield); P. Anderson (Crest); J. Dunley (Rotherham); C. West, Rotherham.

NEW ZEALAND BARBARIANS: C. Cullen (A. Matherston, 48); G. Osborne (J. Vidiri, 14); A. Iremua (H. Massey, 57); L. Slessman; J. Leman; C. Spence; J. McCull (M. Hadden, 70); M. Adams (M. Collins, 70); S. Fitzgerald (Crest); A. Oliver, 70; G. Brown; G. Taylor (J. Jones, 52); R. Brooks (NSW); D. White (Queensland); M. Bennett; T. Handley.

Referee: P. Adams (Wales).



Wood... down twice but remained utterly fearless

Ireland 12, Australia 22

Knox breaks Irish hearts after their finest hour

IAN MULLIN at Lansdowne Road

IT WAS their finest hour. Ireland's professional players at last gave a performance of worth on Saturday. The Australians take their unbeaten tour record to Limerick tomorrow but Munster must have a chance of repeating their 1982 victory. Australia 1998 is not so much a vintage as a quaffable chardonnay.

Murray Kidd, the Ireland coach, acknowledged: "The first 30 minutes were the best I've seen from our forwards but when you get that close you want to see a result." For that hour Ireland harried the Wallabies with a passionate

display. Under the Dublin floodlights 12 days earlier Ireland had chased shadows against Western Samoa. But on a freezing afternoon a side showing nine changes recalled their old fire.

But Kidd's fears that Australia had another gear or two were realised. With 10 minutes remaining Paul Burke, who had enjoyed an excellent return at fly-half for Ireland, saw his 40-yard penalty drop short for his first miss of the game. Five minutes later Ireland, still 15-12 down, attempted to counter-attack from their own half, but James Topping was toppled by three tacklers and George Gregan gave his half-back partner David Knox, who was more than a hint of a forward

pass, the chance to run in the game's only try.

Ollie Campbell, one of Burke's predecessors in the Ireland No. 10 shirt, admired his country's display. "We showed all that passion and commitment but where we fall short is in that little bit of creativity that wins matches. And in the last 20 minutes Australia also made their physical presence count."

Campbell knows all about the vagaries of selection. Twenty years ago his kicking failed on his international debut against Australia. He was dropped for the first time in his life.

Ireland selectors nowadays switch their halfbacks notoriously but they should give Burke and his new partner Stephen McIvor an extended run. Burke, sharpened by Courage league competition with Bristol, was a steady influence, astutely kicking and making neat half-breaks, and McIvor was a revelation on his debut at scrum-half. He has a swift pass and linked immediately with a back row in which David Corkery was outstanding.

Ireland's rediscovered spirit, though, was personified by the performance of their new captain, Keith Wood, the Harlequins hooker, is utterly fearless. Almost knocked cold in tackles either side of the interval, he recovered to drive his pack on. Why he was not picked for the Western Samoa game is still a mystery.

Wood's accurate throwing

also steadied the line-out, a phase of the game so poor against Western Samoa. In the second half Davidson and Fulcher were catching and driving against Eales and Waugh, arguably the world's finest line-out jumpers.

Worrying, though, was yet another injury to the unlucky full-back Jim Staples, who needed X-rays to his damaged right wrist; it was a ligament problem, however, which should keep him out for only a week to 10 days. But Simon Geoghegan will miss the entire Five Nations season with an arthritic toe.

John Eales, Australia's captain, also left the field prematurely with what was thought to be a bruised cornea. The problem, in fact, is a frac-


ture eye socket that means he will miss the rest of the tour. In his absence Tim Horan will lead a jaded side against Wales next Sunday. On this form Australia are a distant third-best in the southern hemisphere.

SCOTLAND Ireland: P. Burke 4, Anderson, Trynka, Conversion: M. Burke, Penalties: M. Burke 5.

IRELAND: J. Staples (Harlequins); M. Field, Malone, 15min; J. Topping (Ballymore); J. Bell, M. McCull (both Dunsannon); D. Crotty (Garryowen); P. Burke (Orkney); S. McIvor (Garryowen); P. Poppo (Newcastle); K. Wood (Harlequins, capt); P. Wallace (Rugby); G. Pugh; J. Smithson (Don London Irish); D. Coakley (Bristol); W. Wallace (Malone); A. Foley (Sharnon).

AUSTRALIA: M. Burke (NSW); J. Linds, O. Heffer; T. Horan (NS); J. Ross; D. Kane; G. Gregan (all ACT); D. Crook; M. Foley (both Queensland); M. Hadden; W. Waugh (both NSW); J. Eales (Queensland); S. Robinson, ACT; G. D. Ross (NSW); D. White (Queensland); M. Bennett; T. Handley.

Referee: P. Adams (Wales).



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14 SPORTS NEWS



Also-rans and winners... Britain's two-man bob finishes fourth at Altberg; Greg Norman plays out of a bunker on his way to the Australian Open title; Virgil Hill is pleased as punch after winning the WBA and IBF light-heavyweight titles in Munich

Weekend results

Soccer

FA CUP

FA Cup Round 11 results: Arsenal 1-0 Ipswich, Liverpool 1-0 Manchester City, Tottenham 1-0 Derby, etc.

Football League

Football League Division One results: Liverpool 1-0 Manchester City, Tottenham 1-0 Derby, etc.

Football League

Football League Division Two results: Ipswich 1-0 Derby, Tottenham 1-0 Derby, etc.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

First Division

Table showing National League First Division results for various teams like Arsenal, Liverpool, Tottenham, etc.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Second Division

Table showing National League Second Division results for various teams like Ipswich, Derby, Tottenham, etc.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Third Division

Table showing National League Third Division results for various teams like Ipswich, Derby, Tottenham, etc.

Rugby Union

SAVING A PROSPER INTERNATIONAL

SAVING A PROSPER INTERNATIONAL results: England 15-10 Scotland, etc.

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Boxing

WBA AND IBF LIGHT-HEAVYWEIGHT

WBA and IBF light-heavyweight titles won by Virgil Hill.

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Soccer

Premiership: Chelsea 1, Newcastle United 1

Shearer makes his point

Commentary

David Lacey

IT WOULD be easy to see in Newcastle United's heroic last stand at Stamford Bridge on Saturday, a stronger case this time for the championship going to St James' Park. Judgment, however, still needs to be reserved.

In keeping out Chelsea's Italian-orientated attack, to force a 1-1 draw after Batty had been dismissed for elbowing Hughes in the face early in the second half, Newcastle appeared to confound critics who argue that poor defending will always be their downfall. For once Kevin Keegan's players did not protect their goal with the discipline and organisation of the Frank Spencer formation dancing team.

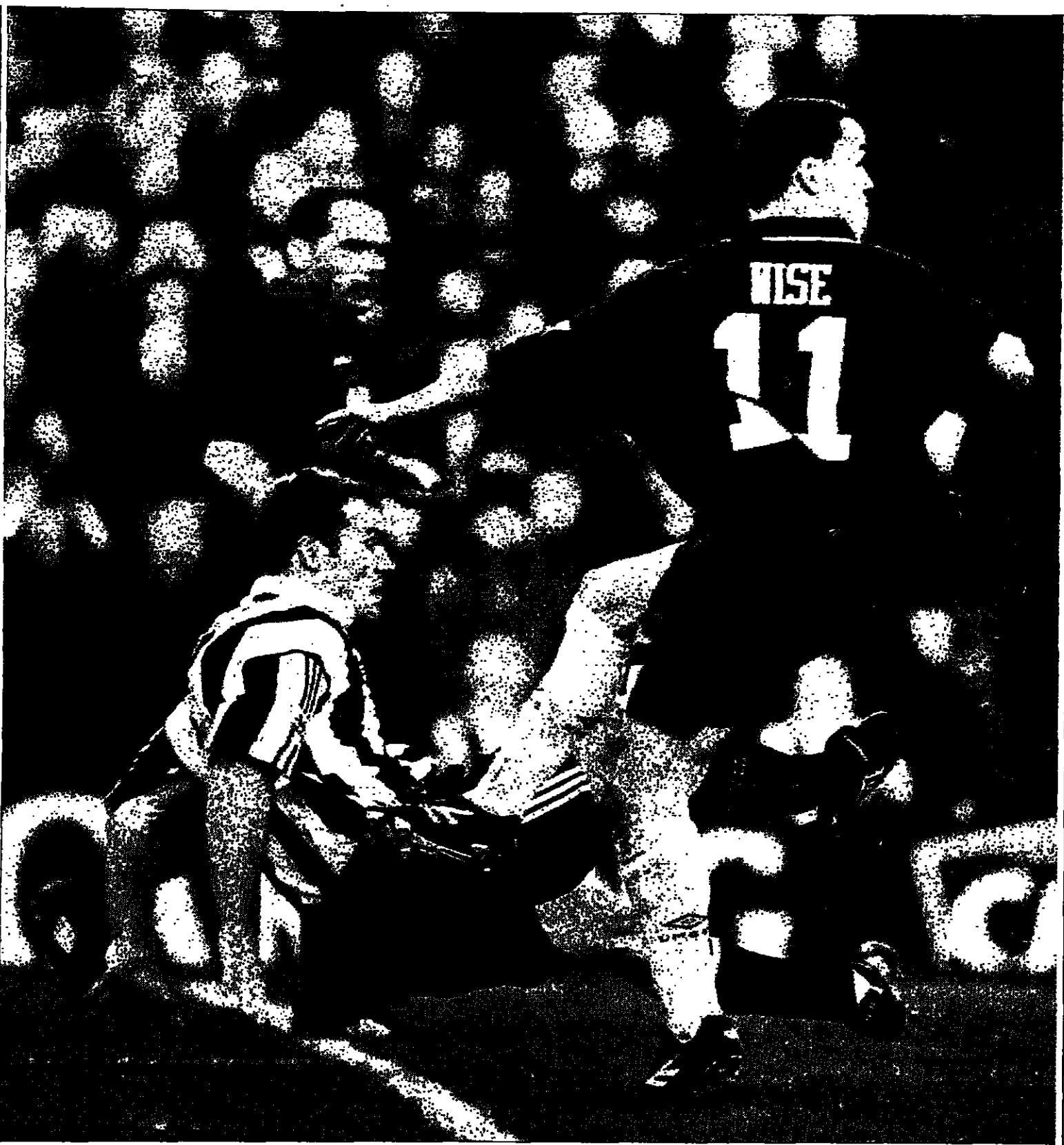
Strick, Newcastle's often erratic Czech goalkeeper, made a series of excellent saves, the best to tip over a close-range header from Petrescu. No one panicked, least of all Albert, whose calm presence at the heart of the defence was complemented by an unusually competent display from Peacock.

As an example of backs-to-the-wall defending it could hardly have been bettered, even if there was nothing behind the goal at that end except the space where Chelsea's new south stand will eventually be. Yet there are a number of reasons why it would be unwise to count on this aspect of Saturday's match fresh evidence of Newcastle's championship credentials.

To begin with, one of the reasons why Newcastle survived was Chelsea's continuing lack of a consistent taker of chances in the penalty area. The addition of a third Italian, Zola, to the side has opened up a fresh avenue of approach, and some of the little man's passing was delightful, but they still do not have the means to finish off opponents who find themselves in Newcastle's situation.

Memories of the firmly driven, dipping free-kick from Zola which the finest touch of Vielli's shaven head glanced into the far corner of the net midway through the first half should have alerted Chelsea up for victory once Newcastle had been reduced to 10 men. True, Wise did hit the bar with a 30-yard shot late in the game but from closer range Chelsea's finishing lacked the necessary incisiveness.

The intervention of Gullit, Chelsea's player-manager, for the last half-hour brought added skill and stability to their attacks without sharpening its cutting edge. And because the presence of Chelsea's manager is not wedded to the English tradition of high crosses to Newcastle's far post, on which should be displayed a sign instructing opponents to "queue this side", this weakness was rarely exposed. No, if the championship



Full recovery... the falling Alan Shearer strikes after being denied from his first attempt at Stamford Bridge

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD SAKER

finds its way to Tyneside the prime reason will surely be Alan Shearer, who reminded Chelsea of the natural scorer's art. Returning to the Premiership after a month's absence for a groin operation, the England centre-forward brought the scores level four minutes before half-time with a marvellous piece of improvisation.

Kept onside by the fine angle of Asprilla's pass and the timing of his own run, Shearer appeared to have been thwarted by the bravery

of Grodas, the Norwegian goalkeeper whom Chelsea have signed on loan. But even after Grodas had knocked the ball away from his feet Shearer still had the balance, strength and timing to regain possession, make space for himself, and as a defender converged on all sides score with a fierce shot on the turn.

"With a lot of players," said Keegan, "the disappointment of not scoring the first time would have cost them the second chance. But Alan still knew there was an opportunity there, and the finish was fantastic."

Batty was sent off after 62 minutes when, Hughes having jabbed at him twice from behind as he was laying off a short ball to Lee, he gave the Welshman the elbow. The Newcastle midfielder did not complain at his dismissal but Keegan thought it was another case of "the guy who starts it walks off scot-free and the guy who reacts to it, wrongly, gets a red card. Certainly the referee could have given a free-kick against

Liverpool 1, Wimbledon 1

Anfield boos put Evans on back foot

Ian Ffrench

AS THEY headed towards the nearest bar after last Wednesday's drawn Merseyside derby, it is unlikely that the players and management of Liverpool were aware of the discontent that was rolling around Anfield like morning mist.

Then, and again on Saturday, it was not the disappointment of missing three points but the manner of their draw which prompted the supporters to bark out awkward, almost rebellious questions, all of which fell on deaf or perhaps uncaring ears.

On Wednesday Liverpool had almost allowed the blue manes of Everton to punish their impoverished, barren football. To a man, those with long memories and short tempers wished to know why the Anfield club's manager Roy Evans had not shuffled a pack that, in their opinion, boasted aces on the substitutes' bench but jokers on the pitch.

Evans has based a brief managerial career on unwavering loyalty to a select few. Stan Collymore, until he was fined £20,000 by the club recently, was stoically defended while perpetrating indefensible acts of gross arrogance.

John Barnes, the worn cog at the heart of a slowing wheel, can do no wrong even when he is doing precious little right. He and more worryingly Redknapp were heckled throughout by those who can recall the halcyon days when the Liverpool midfield was a minefield patrolled by the likes of Jimmy Case, Graeme Souness and Steve McMahon.

After facing Everton, what Evans's boys really needed was a soft touch, a side just happy to be taking part, a Nottingham Forest or maybe a Coventry City, Wimbledon do not tug a collective fore-

lock in a show of respect to their supposed betters; almost respectable though they may now be, they so enjoy — bless them — playing out the role of alley cat in the courtyard of the aristocrat.

But to decry the modern Wimbledon as hit-and-hope merchants who trade, parasite-like, on the shortcomings of others is to do them an injustice. "They can play, you know," Evans said afterwards. It was hardly an excuse for his own side's lamentable performance, more an honest appraisal from one who would dearly love to see some of his own players similarly blessed with the virtues of passion and conviction.

The match was utterly wretched; and to think Liverpool would have displaced Newcastle United at the top of the Premiership had they won. Not that they ever seemed likely to, even though Collymore drove them in front inside the opening minute after he capitalised on Blackwell's first and last error of the afternoon.

Oyvind Leonhardsen's goal midway through the second half was un spectacular, but deserved and sufficient to extend to 15 matches Wimbledon's unbeaten sequence.

The crowd became increasingly frustrated after the quarter and a chorus of boos echoed round the stadium at the end.

"I don't think we deserved that," said Evans. "The crowd's anxiety spread to the players. But we can't let them get to us. We are a passing side and no one should question our commitment."

"Of course it was frustrating, and we are not firing on all cylinders. I feel we can do better but this is a tough old league. They only had one chance and they stuck it in."

Precisely: a 100 per cent success rate. Now that's championship pedigree.

Southampton 0, Leeds United 2

Graham sinks early foundations

Russell Thomas

GRAEME SOUNESS has applied the club's fix with nine new signings in his Southampton squad on Saturday. George Graham is adopting the longer game, examining his player inheritance first. Neither route will guarantee salvation, on the evidence of this depressing, inspiration-less fare at The Dell.

There seemed to be no managerial winner here. Souness, attempting to check his reaction to a 30-second press conference before being persuaded eventually to grant a longer, calmer audience. Graham spoke flatly about the task of transforming Leeds — "a long job" rather than the task just successfully and pragmatically completed.

To the insult of Southampton's 7-1 drubbing at Everton, and now their inadequate reaction against Leeds, was added an injury to Le Tissier, a pulled thigh muscle which will put the captain on the sidelines for three to six weeks.

Extraordinarily, given Souness's spate of signings, he now only has two strikers available, one of them a 30-year-old Senegalese, Aly Dia, on a month's contract. Dia, recommended by George Weah, came on a substitute but made such little impact that he himself was eventually replaced.

Graham has striking problems of his own — the here came from his two wing-backs, Kelly and Sharpe — but smoothed over Rush's latest blank with practised ease.

And in defence, even if Raabe neutralised Le Tissier for 31 minutes, Leeds' manager was again confronted by glaring inadequacies, conspicuously on the left flank.

Leeds escaped punishment in the first half to bring Graham his first Premiership away win in five attempts. Visiting fans warmed exuberantly; the manager's head had not been turned.

Graham freely concedes that Leeds "need more quality" but he is still in no rush to spend the millions afforded by the club's new owner. Graham: "It's one thing saying it and another acquiring it. I've always been a long-term builder." How long will Leeds take to build? "It won't be quicker than two years."

Buying British, Graham explained, is an increasing problem, and not only because of the hyper-inflated domestic market. "I think we should all be worried about the quantity of top players in the English game. For instance you could once shake a tree and centre-halves would fall out. You don't find that any more."

Souness, before tomorrow's Coca-Cola Cup visit to Oxford, was more concerned with finding the personnel and the leadership required to restore Southampton's equilibrium.

Surprisingly he excluded Wood, his 37-year-old goalkeeper, from his general criticism of senior players. Wood's inaction, as much as the slow reaction of Magilton and Potter, invites the volley that brought Kelly's first Leeds goal. Sharpe's calmly delivered drive merely confirmed the inevitable.

'Bullying' Mellor unbowed by FA complaint

DAVID MELLOR yesterday poured scorn on a FA complaint about his radio-show treatment of the commercial director Phil Carling over the launch in January of a new England home kit.

Accused of "bullying and hectoring" Mellor retorted: "Poor little diddums!" On the kit launch, he said: "This is a cynical rip-off. If the FA are incapable of understanding the inevitable outrage of fans then they are even more incompetent than most of our callers think they are."

Mellor was unrepentant about Saturday's Radio 5 Live Six-o-Six Show, in which he often cut short Carling's responses to criticism of the FA's decision to change the kit, rendering obsolete thousands of £70 Christmas presents.

The FA spokesman Steve Double said: "Phil Carling had a major revamp of policy to announce... and he was prevented from doing so. At one stage David Mellor told Phil he was 'not interested' in what he had to say."

Carling had wanted to announce that future England kits would be changed only in summer, with the new strip lasting until mid-1999, and that England fans would be consulted about new designs.

The kit controversy coincided with further signs that the English game is awash with money. The FA Carling Premiership may have a new name next season, when the top clubs hope to treble the current backing of £12 million over four years.

Leicester City 1, Everton 2

Poole's case for the cock-up theory

David Hopps

THOSE who while away the longest football journeys with their car radios tuned to 5 Live are soon faced with an overriding philosophical decision.

Their conclusion — indeed, not as much a conclusion as a life choice — will determine how they view the bizarre goal that left Leicester City's goalkeeper Kevin Poole such a wretched sight.

They can revel in the cock-up theory of football, as so divertingly presented over Saturday lunchtime by Danny Baker, in which a creative game is stimulating as much for its irretrievable foolishness as its occasional brilliance. In that case,

Poole's first-half aberration invites a mixture of laughter and indignity.

Or they can succumb on the journey home to the self-righteous posturing of David Mellor, where football has scientific rules which must be observed, referees are invariably incompetent, and the game's unintentional humour is suffocated beneath tiresome, whingeing phone calls.

Here, Poole was undoubtedly wronged, an innocent victim in an unjust world.

The Mellor stance on Barmby's devilishly quick thinking in setting up Andy Hinchcliffe for Everton's first goal, cannot be recorded in detail owing to an overriding urge to slam a cassette into the tape deck. But Darren On Line Two was briefly heard to

mean that the referee Jeff Winter and his two assistants were responsible for Leicester's defeat.

The sequence of events was: as Everton were flagged down for offside, Leicester's full-back Grayson rolled the ball back to his goalkeeper Poole, assuming the free-kick had still to be taken, picked the ball up under pressure from Barmby.

The referee penalised Poole for handling a back-pass and, while the hapless goalkeeper protested on the edge of his area, Barmby tapped a quick free-kick to Hinchcliffe, who chipped the ball into an unguarded net.

The referee's decision to uphold the goal incensed the home supporters, who later cheered the stretching-off of

a linesman after he was inadvertently barged to the ground by Unsworth.

"Poole gestured to me, asking whether he could pick the ball up," said Winter. "I shouted, 'No, no, no.' Nevertheless even the most wavering Mellorite would wonder about the fairness of allowing the free-kick to be taken seven yards away from where Poole committed the offence."

Bakerites might sense a greater truth, however: the glorious theatre of a reserve goalkeeper, in only his second game of the season, making a hash of it. Poole's luck was also out for Everton's second goal when he pushed Speed's far-post header into the path of Unsworth. Walsh's headed reply for Leicester, seven minutes from time, interest-

ed an aerial bombardment that Everton survived to move into the top six.

Defeated managers forever take refuge in Mellor's world of refereeing incompetence, so the response of Leicester's manager Martin O'Neill was refreshing.

"At the moment I haven't an ounce of sympathy for Kevin," he said. "He is a professional and he should know what he is doing under pressure. If in doubt, kick it out."

O'Neill's priority is to check flight times from Trinidad to Heathrow. He hopes his first-choice goalkeeper Kasey Keller will be released from the United States' World Cup qualifying campaign in time to face Manchester United in the Coca-Cola Cup on Wednesday.

Sunderland 1, Sheffield Wednesday 1

Reid upholds the Stewart line of succession

George Caulkin

MOST managers seem to have a pet player, someone who can do no wrong, someone whose regular first-team place before the home supporters. In Graham Taylor's England days it was Carlton Palmer. With Peter Reid it seems to be Paul Stewart, whose very name over the public-address system before this game drew a Roker rumble of discontent.

Stewart's career on Wear-side began in unconvincing fashion and has followed a

consistently disastrous course ever since. He limped from the field in his first match on loan and his eighth appearance was marred by a sending-off. Two more red cards have followed for the same, meagre tally of goals.

With Craig Russell, last year's top scorer, routinely restricted to the substitutes' bench and the fast-improving Michael Bridges pressing hard for a regular place in the starting line-up, Stewart has few supporters. Bar one.

"As a manager, I make decisions about players," said Reid. "I think the crowd are

entitled to their opinions, but what I particularly don't like is that anyone in a Sunderland shirt should be jeered at Roker Park. That disappoints me a little bit."

It was a sign of strain in Reid's relationship with fans impatient to match the ambition of local rivals at Newcastle and Middlesbrough. As the despairing cry of "Reidy, man, get your cheque-book out, you Scouse git" from one terrace loudmouth below the press box.

There has been no lack of effort in their circumspect manager's attempts to pep up

the club's woeful record in front of goal. Reid admits that the £7.5 million he has at his disposal "is burning a hole in my pocket", but forewarned and forearmed clubs are steadfastly refusing to meet his valuation of their players.

The Israeli international Ronen Harazi, signed for £500,000 pending a work-permit application, is the sole exception and should arrive in time for next month's match at Old Trafford.

With a greater degree of ruthlessness in the final third of the field and more gulle behind, Sunderland would have

buried Sheffield Wednesday in a first half they dominated. Bridges and David Kelly hit the goal frame before Scott Oakes ridiculed the balance and forearmed clubs are steadfastly refusing to meet his valuation of their players.

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With a greater degree of ruthlessness in the final third of the field and more gulle behind, Sunderland would have

FA to act as Schmeichel denies making racist remarks to Wright

THE FA has intervened in the simmering week-long row over alleged racist remarks made by an irate Peter Schmeichel when the Arsenal striker Ian Wright clattered into him at Old Trafford.

The Manchester United goalkeeper denies the accusation, which seems to be supported by the video, and will probably escape punishment by the FA, which will now ask both players for their versions.

The FA spokesman Steve Double said: "Lip-reading is not an exact science and it's very difficult to prove exactly what was said just by viewing television pic-

tures. But these are serious allegations."

The FA decided to step in after Wright insisted: "I'm not in the habit of getting my fellow professionals into trouble; I've said things myself in the heat of the moment that have got me into trouble, and I'm sure that's the case with Peter Schmeichel. But what he's done is there for everyone to see."

Wright also wants the FA to rescind the caution he received for the clash. "It was a 50-50 ball and I went for it," he said. "I'm sure his reaction got me booked and I want the FA to overturn that booking."

Racing
Dettori
takes £1 million
Japan Cup
on Singpiel
12

Rugby Union
England's
new boys
start with
a romp
13

SportExtra



Going for goal again... the Rangers centre-forward Ally McCoist, who scored twice and ought to have had a hat-trick, bursts busily through the Hearts defence during yesterday's thrilling final at Celtic Park. PHOTOGRAPH: AUBREY WASHINGTON

Scottish Coca-Cola Cup final: Rangers 4, Hearts 3

Gascoigne leaves Hearts broken

Patrick Glenn at Celtic Park

HEARTS, like many before them, came to the painful realisation that leaving Paul Gascoigne and Ally McCoist to their own devices can be highly dangerous. Two goals each from the England midfielder and Scotland striker gave Rangers the Scottish League Cup for the 20th time. Hearts' refusal to capitulate throughout an extraordinary final was emphasised by the anger of their manager Jim Jefferies and captain Gary Mackay over a refereeing decision which swung the match in the second half.

Having overcome a two-goal deficit to square the match at 2-2, the Tynecastle side had the scent of a lead themselves in the 64th minute when Robertson was clearly fouled by Bjorklund. The referee failed to award the free-kick and the ball was quickly played forward for Gascoigne to put Rangers back in front with a magnificent finish: holding the ball until just short of the penalty area, he suddenly curled it low past Rousset with his right foot. Two minutes later Gascoigne made it 4-2, playing a one-two with Miller and right-footing the return pass past Rousset from 12 yards. When McCoist scored his

two in the first 26 minutes he gave the Edinburgh fans a chilling reminder of last May's 5-1 thrashing by Rangers in the Scottish Cup final. As the Hearts defenders concentrated on Laudrup, the Dane slipped the ball to the totally unattended McCoist, and a quick turn on the edge of the box and a jab with his right foot sent the ball low to the left of Rousset. The Hearts defenders were guilty of neglect again when a corner kick from the left was met by Petric and headed back towards Moore, who headed it on to McCoist. The striker nodded the ball in for his 50th goal in the League Cup, equalling the record es-

tablished by Rangers' Jim Forrest 30 years ago. It was Fulton, a minute from the interval, who encouraged Hearts with a powerful low drive from 18 yards after McCann's corner kick had been knocked forward by Cameron. McCann spent the second half roasting Moore down the left and provided the ammunition for Robertson's equaliser, drilled home with his right foot. But by the time Weir headed Hearts' third, from McCann's free-kick in the last minute, Rangers had done enough to ensure Walter Smith his 11th trophy since succeeding Graeme Souness as manager in 1991.

Tennis

Sampras turns the tables on Germany's Boris Becker

Stephen Bierley in Hanover sees Becker lose trial of strength in thrilling ATP final

THE head began to roll and fatigue pressed a heavy hand on Pete Sampras's shoulders, but the tennis world has come to recognise this year that he is not only the No. 1 player in the world but one of sport's great fighters. So it was yesterday afternoon here that after four hours of unrelentingly severe play, with little in the way of gifts and remarkably few unforced errors — at least until the third and dramatic tie-break — the American defeated Germany's Boris Becker 3-6, 7-6, 7-6, 6-7, 6-4 in the ATP final. It was a victory which even this hugely partisan crowd of more than 15,000 acknowledged with generous applause. It was a wonderful match but in no way comparable to any of the great five-set matches in Grand Slam tennis, notably the John McEnroe-Bjorn Borg 1980 Wimbledon final with its 18-16 tie-break. That was real; this, it must be said, was in a tournament manufactured for money being played at the end of a wearying season. Both players had won this

title twice since it moved from New York to Frankfurt in 1990 and to Hanover this year. Becker said that even he had been surprised by the volume of home support; at least, having played both Becker and crowd once earlier in the week, Sampras knew what he would face. A live band, the bass guitar thundering, played both men in to the deafening pulse of the Rocky theme and the level of support for Becker rarely stilled, reaching a shrieking climax when he won that third tie-break 10-11. Becker had fought off two match points, with both players struggling to hold their games together as nerves affected their shots. Becker had, extraordinarily, begun this final with four successive aces; he then broke Sampras in the fourth game of the first set and served out with peerless tenacity. Sampras, who had also lost to Becker in the ATP Stuttgart tournament last month, had been only a little off the pace initially but it was just enough to give Becker, also one of the game's great fighters, an early grip.

It was their 17th meeting. Sampras previously holding a 9-7 advantage and never having lost to the German on three successive occasions. That statistic was to stand, although Sampras was tottering when, after a 24-stroke rally, Becker finally put a backhand into the net to lose the fifth set and the match. Before that final set it had seemed that Becker, four years older than the 25-year-old Sampras, would be the one to pull the fat out of the flames. The American, normally undemonstrative on court, had let out a yell of delight when he won the first tie-break and the adrenalin was still flowing when he nicked the second. But in a mighty fourth set Becker continually slammed the door in Sampras's face whenever it seemed he would walk through to pocket the \$1.340 million (\$200,000) winning cheque. As Sampras sagged visibly, thoughts went back to the US Open quarter-final against Spain's Alex Corretja, a reminder of the American's unquenchable efforts in the midst of seemingly impossible adversity. He is a true champion. And so is Becker. That is what made it such an impressive encounter. The German

missed more than two months of tennis this year after badly injuring his wrist at Wimbledon, and the theory was that in a long match he might ultimately be fresher in body and mind. But it was Sampras who eked out that little bit extra. "What a match, five sets against Boris on his home soil," he said. "The crowd was right behind him but they were fair and it was great fun." For Becker it was "the best match of my life. I am proud of it".



Sampras... winner's joy

Graf is top on a half season

Chris Bowers in New York

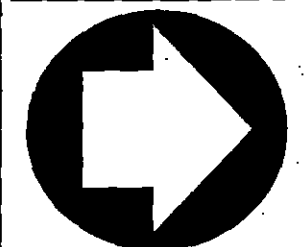
STEFFI GRAF will today appear at the top of the end-of-year women's rankings for the eighth time in her career, beating the record of seven she jointly held with Martina Navratilova. The phenomenal German, who is still only 27, was last night seeking to set the seal on her year with victory at the Chase Championships in a best-of-five-sets final against the 16-year-old pretender to her crown, Martina Hingis. For a player who has been

able to contest only 11 tournaments this year because of persistent back and knee injuries, Graf has shown remarkable domination of her sport. Jointly ranked No. 1 with Monica Seles for most of the year, she won three Grand Slam titles to underline her superiority. Of the matches she has managed to complete, she has lost only two. One of those was against Hingis at the Italian Open in May but the German was suffering from back trouble. However, she reached last night's final with a 4-6, 6-4,

6-3 victory over Jana Novotna which owed as much to the Czech's still-frail nerves as to Graf's display. Serving at 5-4 down in the second set, Novotna made two volleying errors, the second a horrendous miss with the court open, and when her first volley on set point was tentative, Graf belted a forehand winner down the line to level the match. Novotna's nerve again failed when she double faulted twice to give Graf the decisive break in the sixth game of the final set. The 16-year-old Hingis

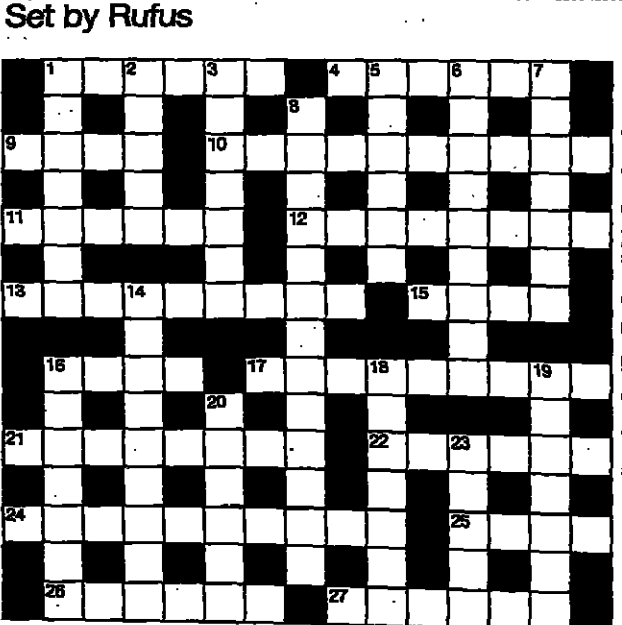
needed considerable tactical awareness to see off the spirited challenge of Iva Majoli, and win 6-2, 4-6, 6-1. The Croatian took a while to get the measure of her opponent's weight of shot, by which time Hingis was a set up. But Majoli came back to take the second set, at which point she looked a potential winner. At the start of the final set a couple of carefully chosen drop shots from Hingis broke Majoli's rhythm, and once the Swiss had regained the initiative the outcome was never in doubt.

Guardian Crossword No 20,819

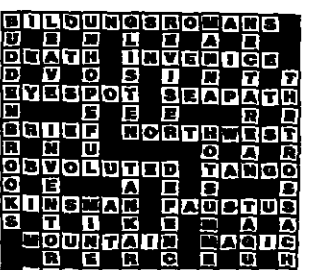


"So often collectors just collect paintings until they've covered their walls" he scoffs, "real collectors are driven. They'll pile pictures under the bed if they have to."
At home with the amateur art collectors
G2 page 12

Set by Rufus



- Across**
- 1 Light breeze round the West (5)
 - 4 The buck stops here (5)
 - 9 Prompt and quiet staff (4)
 - 10 Return a faulty purchase, but apologise (4,2,4)
 - 11 Graduate goes to U.S. city, West Indies and African state (5)
 - 12 It is difficult being so sensitive (5)
 - 13 Phone-box vandalised by Oriental — one who can't stand immigrants? (9)
 - 15 It enables one to pass as a traveller (4)
 - 16 They're evacuated during the shelling (4)
 - 17 Go in after fish and chips (5)
 - 21 Direction for a guardian? (5)
 - 22 Diner and desecrate a grave (5)
- Down**
- 24 Acts concerning gratuities (10)
 - 25 Job for a shipping company (4)
 - 26 In the East a strange sign, giving relief (5)
 - 27 Book illustrations laid out on the table (5)
- Down**
- 1 Serving up uncooked food results in hostility (7)
 - 2 Diana's replaced by another woman (5)
 - 3 Big egg-producer from nothing, on the way to be wealthy (7)
 - 5 A portion for each (5)
 - 6 Fleeing, like a defiant beast (5)
 - 7 Capital I invested in a new casino (7)
 - 8 Sole means of locomotion for children (13)



This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are Mrs. M. Allen of Barton-Le-Clay, Bedfordshire, John Blackburn of Morecombe, Lancashire, Nick Brown of Belfast, Northern Ireland, Mrs. J. Pringle of Gillingham, Kent, and M. Carter of Umberleigh, North Devon.

- 14 Military command to requisition weapons (5,4)
- 16 Go ahead and get caught in deeper trouble (7)
- 18 A shady put-up job (7)
- 19 Drivers seen in crash — full of drink (7)
- 20 Mother and child in a jam? (5)
- 23 Get state permit to have a servant (5)

Solution tomorrow

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